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Five papers are included.

"Existing and Projected Research on Individual and Group Approaches in the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency", by David Wineman, discussed informal interview as a technique for treating specific ego malfunctions. Two methods were suggested: "emotional first-aid" for moments of great stress, and long-range training for more permanent health. The school, having considerable influence on the child, is in a position to apply these techniques.

"Research on the School Work-Study Program in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency", by Robert J. Havighurst, proposed starting work-study as early as age 13 or 14, to keep lower-class boys and girls motivated and give them opportunity for growth. Experimentation and training of special supervisors would be needed.

"Existing and Projected Research on Reading in Relationship to Juvenile Delinquency", by Gordon P. Liddle, sought a relationship between failure in reading and delinquency.

"The Prevention of Delinquent Subcultures: Issues and Problems", by Richard A. Cloward, set forth problems faced in dealing with the three major types of gangs among lower-class boys.

"Two Roles for Schools in Reducing Juvenile Delinquency", by William W. Wattenburg, discussed two methods of early detection and guidance of delinquents.

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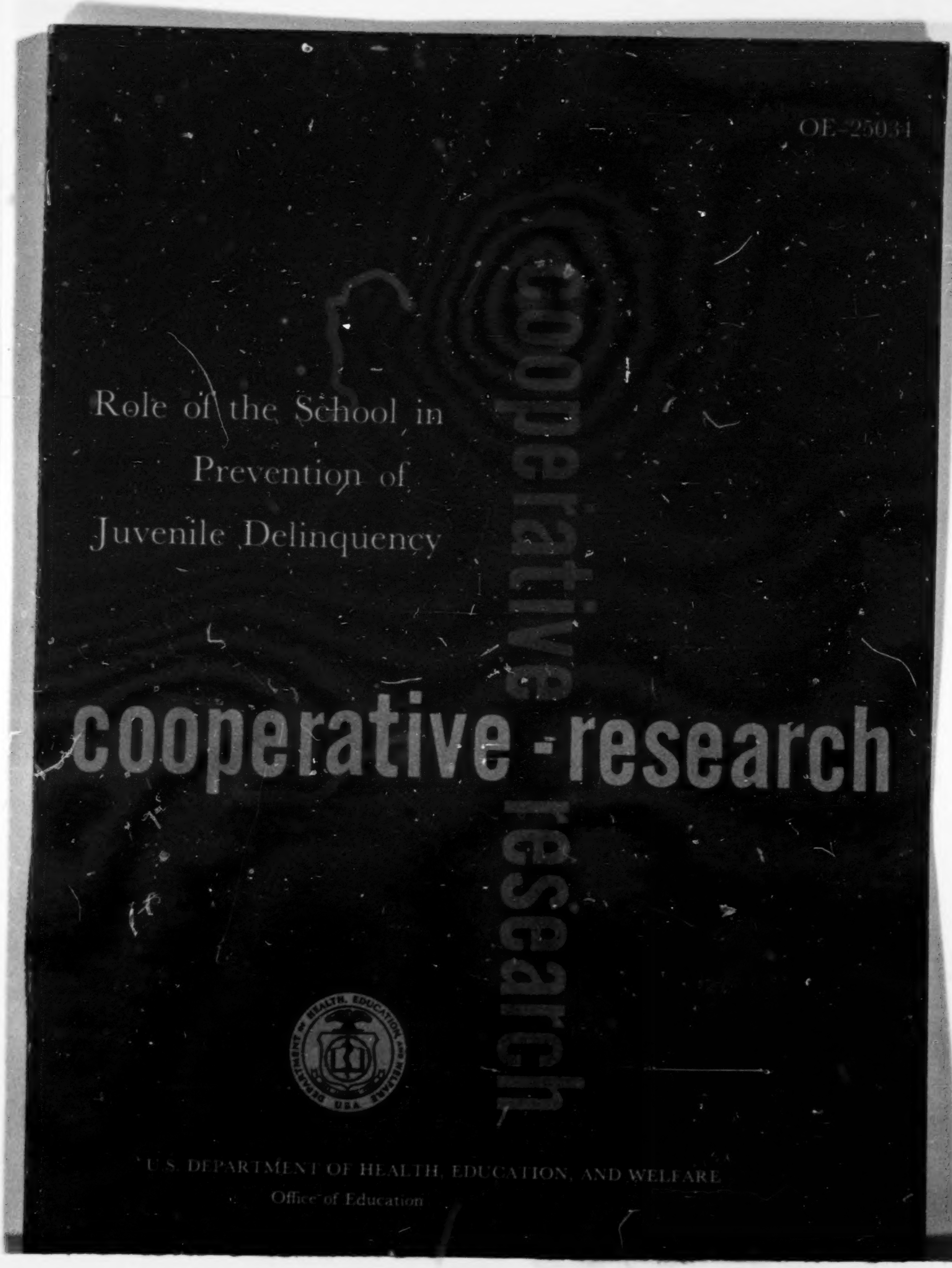

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Role of the School in Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency

cooperative research

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
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FOREWORD

THE REPORT OF THIS SYMPOSIUM in monograph form is an example of one of the efforts of the U.S. Office of Education in encouraging a "new look" at some of the problems related to education which may be solved through research. The symposium was held at the Office of Education on September 9 and 10, 1960, and was made possible on the basis of a cooperative venture by the Cooperative Research Branch of the U.S. Office of Education and Phi Delta Kappa. Phi Delta Kappa, a professional fraternity for men in education, has a common goal with the Office of Education in promoting research and providing service and leadership in education. Each, however, functions in two distinctly different roles.

The Office of Education provides support for research of significance to education through its Cooperative Research Program, to develop new knowledge about major problems in education or to devise new applications of existing knowledge in solving such problems. The program operates under the terms of Public Law 531, 83d Congress, which authorizes the Commissioner of Education to "enter into contracts or jointly financed cooperative arrangements with universities and colleges and State educational agencies for the conduct of research, surveys, and demonstrations in the field of education."

This is one of a series of Cooperative Research monographs designed to disseminate three different types of research information: (a) results of a single Cooperative Research project; (b) results of two or more Cooperative Research projects bearing on a particular problem area; or (c) results of activities that have been carried out to promote research in a particular problem area or stimulate research of greater depth and scope than previously has been carried on. This monograph exemplifies the third type.

Within this monograph are five papers prepared for the symposium by outstanding researchers who have been concerned over a period of years with the myriad problems involved in juvenile deliquency. The five men, in the order in which their papers appear in the monograph, are: David Wineman, associate professor of social work, Wayne State University and assistant director, University of Michigan Fresh Air Camp; Robert J. Havighurst, professor of education, University of Chicago; Gordon P. Liddle, assistant professor, University of Chicago, and consultant, Quincy Youth Development Project; Richard A. Cloward, associate professor, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University; and William W. Wattenberg, professor of educational psychology, Wayne State University.

Section VI of the monograph presents a summary of the highlights of the discussions that followed each of the five papers. Special appreciation is expressed to Charles R. Foster, former president of Phi Delta Kappa, who chaired the symposium, and to the following five discussants: David L. Clark, former director, Cooperative Research Program, U.S. Office of Education; Roy M. Hall, former assistant commissioner for research, U.S. Office of Education; Mack P. Monroe, principal, Jackson Junior High School, Detroit, Michigan; Howard Seymour, superintendent of schools, Rochester, New York; and C. C. Trillingham, superintendent, Los Angeles County Schools, Los Angeles, California.

A number of other representatives from Phi Delta Kappa, the U.S. Office of Education, and the Ford Foundation also participated in the symposium.

The objective of the symposium will have been met if, through the dissemination of this monograph, more research of broader scope, depth, and quality occurs that deals with this general problem area.

FRANCIS A. J. IANNI,
Director,
Cooperative Research Branch

RALPH C. M. FLYNT,
Associate Commissioner
for Educational Research and
Development

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1

Existing and Projected Research on Individual and Group Approaches in the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency

David Wineman
Wayne State University

Introductory remarks

I am going to attempt in this paper to speculate about some of the implications of individual and group interview strategies that have been developed in inpatient milieu therapy with ego-disturbed, aggressive children for outpatient work with this same type of child, whose poor management of impulses frequently lands him in that ambigious category, "delinquent."

The "interview" basically depends upon *communication,* mainly verbal, from a person who is conceived of as a *change agent* to a person, or persons, who are conceived of at least by the change agent, as *change targets.* However, some of the communications from change agent to change target are not in their nature dedicated to such a long-range goal as *change,* but to extremely short-range goals such as helping a child pull out of a temper tantrum, a sulk, a not-so-fleeting delusion that everybody is against him, a deep sadness, or other transient states of being and functioning for which the child may need swift help on the spot.

I am a bit bothered by the term "research." I do not think that my remarks should be termed *research,* if that is taken to mean the results of a mathematically oriented approach to the phenomenon under discussion. I do not think that the sample of children which I am describing can be ordered in this way nor can my own experiences in individual and group approaches with them. My observations and judgments are empirically based impressions and my bias is that we are, historically, in the study of human behavior at large, not just "delinquency," still in the stage of impressionism; this is why we cannot indulge in particularistic theory but instead are committed to a kind of optimistic but cautious pluralism.

What is the location of choice for *any* instrument—such as individual or group interviewing—that appears to have some striking power in attacking the "delinquency" problem, in the life space of the target? Where and when, in the recurrent, daily cycle of functioning will it have the greatest effectiveness—school setting, home, neighborhood, or social agency? The ambiguity about this is partly due to the fact that despite the hue and cry and public hysteria about delinquency, to date the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study is probably the only large-scale, adequately financed study of a service type in the history of American delinquency. Further, if we assume that our focus in this symposium is the treatment (and prevention) of delinquency in the community in which the delinquent exists as opposed to the inpatient approach, we are immediately in trouble. Our judgment as to who can or cannot be treated in the community is terribly clouded because we have not yet developed, even in embryonic form, a graded, complementary series of treatment instruments whose separate functions can be aligned with a comparably graded series of intensities of delinquent disturbance.

Children who obviously need a complex and intensive form of intramural treatment are found in normal classrooms, in special education settings, or languishing on the caseloads of school social workers. Within the past 5 or 10 years one result of this has been to stuff them into poorly equipped mental hospitals for adults, where they vitiate the treatment milieu for those who are truly mentally ill and are mainly cold-storaged until they appear passive enough to be returned to the community. In the decade before this, such children were unloaded into custodial settings for neglected nonviolent children. Traditional family casework long ago abandoned them; "aggressive casework," street-gang, and like projects have suffered from severe limitations of professional staffing, moonlighting, and the hostility or apathy of traditional casework and group-work techniques in collaborative problem solving. We have a great deal of ignorance to get over fast in deciding which treatment potentials, for which type of aggressive behavior, instituted where, will do what job. As "delinquency technicians" we must be on guard to prevent whatever recommendations we may have from being sucked beyond recognition into this whirlpool of apathy and stinginess that has developed around the problem so far.

Finally, a word or two about causation and the level of abstraction which will be reflected in my treatment of the phenomenon. The early work of Parks and Burgess and their students of the 1930's, Thrasher, Shaw and McKay, culminated finally in the views of the "Chicago group" of Mailer, Faris and Reckless in which there was a primary emphasis on social disorganization as a cause for delinquency (25, 28).[1] Sutherland added a new dimension in delineating unique forms of social organization, i.e., pressures which he believed pushed children into delinquency (27). Probably the most sophisticated theory of deviant subcultures as etiologic for delinquency appears in Albert Cohen's *Delinquent Boys* (5). Cohen sees delinquency as a compensatory form of behavior for the "status anxiety" foisted upon lower than middle-class groups in America as a consequence of their exclusion from successful competition in the class system. Social disorganization and deviant subculture theories represent the major sociological theory on delinquency. Family-centered theories (impact of parental discipline, parent-role behavior, emotional climate of family, family structure, and interaction patterns) have been investigated by a number of workers and found to have contributed significantly to the understanding of delinquency (6, 26, 30). The school as a causal variable has also been considered and, summarizing their findings in this area, Bloch and Flynn state (4):

> "the school's primary contribution to delinquency arises from its presenting a series of frustrating situations to the child who already gives some evidence of basic delinquent traits or possible trends toward maladjustment."

The origin of this "frustration," according to some observers, like Hollingshead, seems to arise from the freezing of American public school standards (as to both behavior and learning performance) to the middle-class image. This is held to produce in the lower-class child a negative orientation toward school adjustment, at best, and open warfare at worst, (the latter is my own, not Hollingshead's speculation). Hollingshead and Cohen seem closely allied on this negative orientation point (7). Redl has carefully avoided propounding etiologies of delinquency but has devoted most of his attention to the description of areas of malfunctioning which he has observed in children. He outlines seven areas which may be delinquency-linked (20):

1. *Defense formation.*

This is taken on because of something inimical directed toward the organism from some part of the life habitat (overlaps with theories stressing family interaction, parental rejection, faulty discipline, etc., as cause).

---

[1] Numbers in parentheses are keyed to References at the end of the section.

2. *Growth confusion.*

Heterogenous growth of different main parts of personality may occur in such a way that emotional capacity to maintain balance is endangered (e.g., when sexual drive accelerates faster than ability to control without either inner conflict or self-destructive expression).

3. *Group psychological excitement.*

This affects the youngster who is easy prey to what Redl terms "group psychological suction." It is more complex than it seems and implies, perhaps, that there are factors within the psychic functioning of the child which will produce a blurring of his own ego boundaries and autonomy.

4. *Neurotic afflictions.*

This reflects classical psychoanalytic formulation, which regards delinquent behavior as a symptom outgrowth of a major underlying neurosis on an unconscious level. As such, it might represent a defense formation against feared consequences of unconscious drives or, in some instances, direct expression of such drives as a reaction formation against fear, e.g., brutality and toughness as a defense against unconsciously feared mutilation for sexual urges.

5. *Distortions in the expression of basic impulse drives.*

This refers to such phenomena as sadistic perversions of sexuality or aggression where the delinquent behavior is utilized for this reason, regardless of what other factors may be associated with it.

6. *Disturbances in ego function.*

Of all seven areas, this one has been described in most detail by Redl and Wineman (22). Severe impairment is attributed to all the main spheres of ego functioning (cognition, power over impulse expression, selection range of reaction techniques and synthesis of ego itself with own superego and drives). Some 17 specific disabilities of the ego encompassed by these four broad functions are described, as found in children studied in outpatient group therapy, clinical camping, and residential settings. Most important in this conceptualization is the double view of the ego that Redl has derived; for the ego is shown as weak (atrophic) but possessing an enigmatic strength (hypertrophic) in the service of "delinquent" (or forbidden, for any purpose) impulse expression. Both are pathological: the ego in such cases has a "sick" weakness as well as a "sick" strength. The superego, too, is seen as afflicted in one or a combination of the following ways: (*a*) having some uniqueness of value content which differs from middle-class value ideologies, (*b*) having deficiencies of value content (gaps showing lack of formation), or (*c*) being incompletely introjected and thus in need of external adult reinforcement, which is both feared and fought by the ego. These conditions of the superego will result in a weakened value signal from the superego to the ego in the handling of impulsivity, a significant variable in what is then termed "delinquent behavior."

7. *Delinquent subculture.*

This, in part, is identical with the deviant subculture theory. That is, Redl conceives of a "delinquent" who is not pathological, but simply a product of cultural training. However, there may be children exposed to such climates whose delinquent behavior is due to parental rejection of the surrounding subculture. Such children will tend to show "neurotic" strains in their delinquent behavior pattern representing the internalized conflict with the parents. Also, some children in such settings may suffer from other complicating pathologies which are delinquency linked. In other words, there are both healthy and sick reflectors of subcultural deviance. Redl does not deal with delinquency-immune children who are exposed to deviant (delinquency-espousing) subcultures.

Redl's categories, representing a greatly different level of abstraction from those previously referred to, are concrete and represent a close proximity to clinical goals and procedures. They are not mutually exclusive; some of them may, therefore, coexist in the same child. Finally, there is no attempt to relate any of these categories to any part of the social system. In this connection the work of Redlich and Hollingshead has certainly some implications for differential ego development as a function of class membership (8):

> "Future work might explore systematically our impression that members of the lower classes, particularly class V [lowest class studied] have a weaker ego than members of higher classes. Many of them seem to be less able to check their own impulses, and they are more passive in their attempts to master the harsh reality aspects of their lives. Such ego weakness seems related to the greater difficulties these patients present in attempts to treat them in intensive ambulatory psychotherapy. Although lower-class children are exposed to more external methods of discipline such as physical and often brutal punishment, they are less inclined to internalize social inhibitions, As stated earlier, the lower-class patient is more likely to "act out," while the patient in the upper class is apt to "act in."

My experience of 10 years, during the summer months, at the University of Michigan Fresh Air Summer Camp, a clinically staffed and treatment-oriented camp setting for ego-disturbed aggressive boys, corroborates on empiric, impressionistic grounds this speculation. Over the 10-year period the camp has served perhaps 800 to 1,000 boys between 8 and 14 years of age, most of them from lower and working class social groupings, in Hollingshead's terms. Many of these children are similar to those described in *Children Who Hate* (22). Their recurrent, stable diagnostic feature, regardless of other pathologies which may be present, seems to be a serious ego-superego malfunctioning, so prevalent that I would regard it as a constant in the "delinquency prone" child. This will serve as the "delinquency model" for my remarks on individual and group interview techniques that appear to hold clinical promise for working with such children. These techniques have been developed mainly by Fritz Redl in out-patient group therapy, in clinical camping, and in residential treatment settings and have been experimented with by Morse and myself at the Fresh Air Camp, also by Aichorn, Bettelheim, and probably by Papenak at Willwyck in related ways (1, 2, 3, 13, 14, 18, 21, 31). The preponderant loci of experimentation have thus been in institutional or quasi-institutional settings.

Milieu therapy

Milieu therapy is not a single instrument but rather a complex of processes which comprise an entity. It is not my purpose here to describe all the processes involved, the fullest treatment of which is to be found in *Controls From Within* (21), but rather to extract the interview strategies that have been found useful in our experimentation with the milieu approach. The use of these techniques is, of course, limited by the specific conditions of practice under which they were observed. For their fullest understanding a detailed description would have to be added of the overall program, the setting, the management of the children, and the guidance of the staff. This, of course, sets an implicit limit on transferability to other settings. However, I shall try to show in the later sections of this paper that the basic principles can certainly be fruitfully tested out in a variety of settings. All of my examples are taken from the University of Michigan Fresh Air Camp; a special issue of *The Journal of Social Issues* carries several articles on the camp's overall philosophy and operation (22).

The ego disturbances with which we are concerned are not responsive to classical interview-by-appointment design. Thus, interview strategies had to be developed for use in context with cues transmitted by the children's hour-to-hour behavior, mood tone, relationship involvements with the staff, and practical behavioral control "from without" when their own control apparatus could not perform adequately. We have seen unusual and valuable clinical developments take place from a mobile and informal utilization of communication processes with children singly, in pairs, or in small face-to-face groups. Redl has called this on-the-spot design "life-space interview," and we have described it in separate papers; Morse and Small have done the same for the "group life-space interview" (13, 18, 31). Actually, what we are doing is aiming at specific pieces of ego malfunctioning. The degree to which this becomes a clinical procedure (aimed at changing behavioral functioning by adding to, and/or removing something from, the psyche) will vary, depending on which microscopic piece of ego disorder we are attacking and whether "room" exists in the ego for learning at the precise moment or whether the mere regaining of control is necessary. Sometimes the boundary between these two possibilities is vague or shifts in the process of applying the technique.

A life-space interview aimed at a behavior episode with a *training* or *cure* goal, Redl calls "clinical exploitation of life events"; pulling a youngster through a tight spot in as hygienic a way as possible with no training or cure goal attached, "emotional first aid on the spot." Again, this is a fluid distinction. We can never really be sure that a youngster is *not* absorbing something which has implications for self-modification even when we are not specifically trying for it—as in "emotional first aid"—any more than we can be sure that he *is* absorbing a "change influence" when we do intend it, as in "clinical exploitation." (In fact, one of the major premises of the milieu approach and one which casts a shadow on all of its procedures—interviewing, programing, physical design or whatever—is that everything in the climate has "change influence" of some magnitude.) Yet, we feel there is value in the distinction because it forces us to search for and examine criteria as to which type of situation we face in the ego of the target and how to use the incident—with what strategies and to what end.

These two basic functions of life-space interview—clinical exploitation and emotional first-aid—are divisible into subfunctions, each of which can attack specific and different forms of ego malfunctioning.

Clinical exploitation of life events: subtypes

1. *Reality "rub-in"*

Many ego-damaged children suffer from a kind of perceptual confusion as to what goes on about them, either because they have already woven together a delusional system of life interpretation or because they suffer from a peculiar "drag" of a structural type in their ego development. They appear to need the special aid of "on-the-spot" communication to see the impact of their own behavior on others.

> Dan, age 11, was rapidly becoming a chronic cabin scapegoat because of his continual cursing and challenging any boy in his cabin to fight at the slightest provocation. In a group session it was becoming obvious that a boy we shall call Tim was causing some of the trouble. As soon as the boys began to describe to me Tim's teasing and "needling," a third boy, Andy, who was himself a possible scapegoat should Dan be "rescued," diverted attention from Tim and soon had the group pouncing on Dan in such an uproar that the session had to be abandoned. In a private session with the interviewer for about 40 minutes afterwards, Dan was angry and tearful and accusing the whole camp of being against him. It was necessary to show him the self-defeating aspect of his behavior by pointing out that the group had begun to realize Tim's part in the trouble-making. (With help, Dan began to slow down his reactions to the needling of others.) The incision into this mechanism was the first interview showing how he set himself up for group rejection. There was no attempt in this case to explore in depth the motivation of the behavior.

2. *Symptom estrangement*

A widely known fact about the children under discussion is that they are loaded with what psychiatry has termed *secondary gain* developments. What we consider symptoms or malfunctioning is not perceived by them as such, and is even connected with important gratifications which they do not want to surrender. No part of the ego experiences the symptom as unpleasant or painful, so no part of it takes a stand against it; the ego is *for* rather than *against* it. The contrast between these developments and what occurs in the "treatment prone" psychoneurotic child is striking. A child, for example, who has severe night fears or who is worried and ashamed of his enuresis already shows himself as "seeing his symptom" as something he would like to get rid of. He has, thus, a type of "built-in" treatment affinity. In some way, within the impulse-loaded, aggression-filled child, we must construct a similar sense of symptom estrangement or the clinical battle can never get started. Life-space interviewing has shown itself peculiarly fitted to this intervention task.

> Butch, 11, fights, swears, opposes adults with great tenacity, and is actually proud of his furious temper outbursts. Another boy in the group, Tom, is smaller, neurologically damaged and therefore clumsy, a compulsive thumb sucker and rocker, and over-attached to the adults. Butch bullies him mercilessly. On one occasion, after Butch has bloodied Tom's nose and is reprimanded for it, he cynically refuses to admit any wrong

in what he has done and simply insists, with fine contempt: "I hate that . . . ."

INTERVIEWER: Why?

B.: Because he's a g . . . baby, that's why.

INT.: What's babyish about him?

B.: He rocks, he sucks his thumb, he's always with the lady counselors—who ever heard of a kid of 10 sucking his thumb?

INT.: You're not a baby?

B.: H . . ., no!

INT.: Who else around this camp is not a baby?

B.: (rattles off a half dozen names of kids who are explosive, obscene, adult avoidant, just like himself).

INT.: Tell me something: what do these guys act like?

B.: Swear, blow their tops when they don't like something, bother the counselors . . .

INT.: Butch—did you ever see a little baby, just a couple of months old?

B.: H . . . yeah, my little sister.

INT.: What happens when she wants something and doesn't get it?

B.: She screams.

INT.: And if she still doesn't get it then—does she scream still louder and get purple all over with anger?

B.: Yeah.

INT.: Just think—suppose all of a sudden she got to be 10 years old and acted like that, who would she remind you of—wouldn't it be like you and the others guys that you were braggin' to me about not being babies?

B.: Yeah, but we don't suck our thumbs, we don't rock, we're not with the lady counselors all the time . . .

INT.: What difference does that make? The main thing that makes a guy more grown up than a baby is how much he can *control* himself. You and the guys you talk about don't have much more control than a little baby most of the time. You show your babyness by being out of control, Tom shows it by rocking and sucking his thumb but he doesn't go out of control or get as mad as you—see?

B.: But we're different kind of babies . . .

INT.: But a baby nevertheless.

The goal of this type of life-space interview is to surround the symptom area with new cognitive or perceptive imagery intended to produce discomfort. However, it cannot be stressed enough that great caution needs to be taken that one does not simply make the child mad and bitter and thus intensify rather than reduce the tolerance for and the tenacity of the symptom. This is effected partly in the tone of the interviewer's remarks: he should be as warm as possible, not convey anger or impatience. Also, specifics of timing are important. If Butch had had an especially bad day, if while the interviewer was talking with him he was missing a high gratification activity, like swimming, if his counselor had shown signs of being cross or angry with him, if it were visiting day and Butch's mother hadn't come, or if someone had swiped his fishing rod—all these would have been counter-indications against trying for this effect. As it was, we were lucky, and of course, this kind of talk had to be repeated. Yet, even in our short 7 weeks with Butch there was evidence of gain; in an incident a week or so after the reported interview, and still around Tom but this time with one of the other kids in the cabin as the main offender, he announced: "We get sore at Tom because he's with the lady counselors more than us and maybe we would like to do that too, but we don't want to be considered babies!"

3. *Value repair and restoration*

It is difficult to work with the ego-disturbed aggressive child and avoid facing the problem of trying to bring about a proper balance between values and behavior. This is a complex issue because we may be dealing with three different possibilities, either singly or in concert: (*a*) uniquenesses in value content, (*b*) deficiencies in value content, or (*c*) incomplete introjection of the superego. There are numerous moments when something like a value message or influence attempt directed toward a child seems to be required. The clinical challenge at such moments involves helping the child become more sensitive to value signals which his own superego is sending through to the ego but to which, as it were, he deafens himself or builds in some new value content altogether.

> In one of the older boys' cabins two keys were stolen. It was clear that it was an "inside job" and could not have been done by anyone from another cabin. I told them that if whoever did it would simply confess, that was all there would be to it, since nothing was stolen from the victim's box; otherwise I would have to question each one of them in detail as to their comings and goings of the whole afternoon and look for slips or inconsistencies or lies. "How about it—do I have to question you all like a lawyer or a cop, or does the guy (or guys) simply admit it?" At this two boys who were involved confessed.

In this example the value message was: "Why do we have to treat you like a bunch of crooks all the time and pin you to the wall?" With more hardened delinquents this might not have worked, but it is always part of our task to guess how ingrained the delinquency identification of our youngsters is. Many times we have to grill them because they almost feel they must be forced to confess. On the stealing of money or a reasonably expensive item like a cigarette lighter I doubt that this would have proved successful, even with the same boys. But this incident, just because it was light from the point of view of delinquent value code, was right for the value message.

4. *New tool salesmanship*

One of the ravages of ego malfunctioning is a severe impoverishment of reaction techniques. Often in the face of frustration and severe emotional tension, the ego constricts to a single principle: rage, and rage that is frequently expressed in destructive terms against someone else. In such instances we may try, through life-space interview, to present the child with "new tool" images that could be applied in moments of problem solving breakdown.

> Roy, a badly reared, primitive child of 11, is angry at one of the camp caseworkers (not his own) because he asked her to go for a boat ride with him in the morning but she could not go until the afternoon. He was also annoyed that the previous summer she had been his caseworker but was now assigned to a different cabin. When they got into fairly deep water, he stood up and tipped the boat dangerously. In a talk held just after they got back he was told: "You have a mouth and a brain. If you are mad at Mickey (caseworker) why can't you use your mouth to tell her? Why stand up and tip the boat to show her your anger, to show it in such a dangerous way? You have to start learning how to show anger not by using your body but by using your brain and your mouth. If you can learn this lesson, it may spare you lots of time in jails and institutions!"

With this rather concrete and dramatic beginning we found a way to start a virtual campaign with this child to help him use less motoric and destructive ways of expressing rage.

In this connection, our policy of routinely talking through every variety of interpersonal conflict and issue—fights, stealing, adult defiance, breaking rules, etc.—on individual or group levels is itself a "new tool" for many of these children who, whether because of subcultural training or ego pathology, have not learned to express strong feelings and beliefs this way. At first our children hate talks and consider them punishment. As the summer wears on they become more used to them and often stalk in, angry about some issue or other, saying, "Goddamit, I want a session!" We observe, too, that they appear to become more skillful verbally, incorporate certain adults' verbal mannerisms and become much less motoric in interviews as the summer continues; at first they are all over the place—climbing on window ledges, on the table or desk, standing up on the fireplace mantel in one of our interview rooms, lying under tables, etc.

5. *Manipulation of the boundaries of the self*

When the ego develops in healthy ways, one of the early achievements of the child—perhaps during the first year of life—is a beginning sense of differentiation between the self and the nonself, the beginning of the ego itself and the creation of its *boundaries*. Faulty ego development causes disturbances in ego boundary establishment and maintenance. An offshoot symptom of this form of ego malfunctioning is seen as a disruption in the sense of autonomy and identity, a confusion as to adequate determination of the self, its rights, privileges, and related functions; similarly there is confusion about other "selves" and their rights, privileges, etc. At times ego-disturbed youngsters act, therefore, as though they have no native impulses of their own and must act out the most dominant impulse pattern they perceive in someone else; conversely, they also sometimes behave as though it is perfectly all right to act out their own impulse, whatever it may be. Life-space interview can be applied to this phenomenon.

> Sam, 11, is observed bullying John, who is a favorite target of Tim, the cabin leader and instigator. At one point it is reported that Tim has said to Sam: "If you won't do it, you cannot be a "Mello Fello" (ingroup secret club whose membership Tim controls). In discussing with Sam his bullying of John, we find that he feels that since Tim is his special friend it somehow behooves him to go along with Tim's bullying of John. "But," we say, "You're Sam, not Tim. Does being a friend to a guy mean that you don't try to figure out for yourself whether you want to do a thing, no matter how much he wants you to?" Sam indicates that this is hard to do. We sympathetically agree but stress that it is important to work on it, nevertheless.

It may seem that this is an obvious and common occurrence in most social relationships: a person with high social power (Tim), a leader, exerts influence upon another who is a willing satellite and follower. Is there really ego-boundary weakness in Sam? Our view is that both social influence phenomena and ego pathology are present but that the ego weakness facilitates the surrender of self-determination. The high frequency of this phenomenon in delinquent group formations is obvious. The difference between this and ordinary peer group phenomena, furthermore, is not entirely clear. Peer groups of youngsters that we happily call "normal" confront their members with autonomy challenges all the time. Partly, it seems, that this very "normalcy" of group functioning depends upon the degree to which the ego boundaries of its members have a built-in firmness. This is why it may be that in group life, ego-disturbed, aggressive children risk the abnegation of the self as well as others, why group leadership tends to be totalitarian rather than democratic and indigenous. Such climates act as quick solvents of inner conflict concerning behavior which reflects group trends; with Sam we think that it was important to supply through life-space interview that little, but important, piece of "inner-conflict dialog" that otherwise would be lost in the static of leader-satellite confusion: "Tim wants me to bully John *but* I don't want to" as opposed to "Tim wants me to bully John . . . . (no signal!).

These illustrations of theory and practice in the use of life-space interview for clinical exploitation of events in a quasi-institutional setting will perhaps give the required picture for later speculation about its use in different types of settings. In each instance, real episodes have been used to focus the interview upon very small pieces of "fresh" ego malfunctioning. Milieu therapy carried on for long periods of time must be seen as encompassing countless numbers of such brief clinical encounters as well as exposing the child to whatever processes in the setting are nutrient and "curative."

Emotional first aid on the spot: subtypes

The children we are describing suffer from heavier-than-normal attacks of frustration and anxiety, of sudden relationship breakdown and decision making confusion, partly because their equipment for handling such pressures is poorly developed. It is at such moments that we see control breakdown upon which we have found it useful to focus life-space interviewing of the first-aid type, which does not have any intention of cure or training in the long-range sense.

1. *Management of frustration, panic, fury, or guilt*

A typical example of a combined frustration-fury attack is that of Allen, 12, who had to be removed from the baseball field because he was making a nuisance of himself; his own group had been assigned to the swimming area. His being physically removed produced a full-scale blow-up during which he had to be restrained from hurting an adult. When this was toned down by sympathetic talking on the part of the restraining adult, he was still not in shape to go back out into the camp area, so we simply sat with him silently for about 40 minutes, until he could handle himself. When accompanied to the swimming area by an adult, he spoke about neutral things and passed the remainder of the afternoon without incident.

> Jim, a very controlled, 8-year-old child, was taken out of his cabin at bedtime for overexcited behavior. He came into the room to which he was brought screaming curses at this "so-and-so camp that treats me like a goddam baby" and began to rip up some comic books that were lying around. When told he was "messing up the joint" just because he was angry about not being able to "raise hell" in the cabin, he helped clean up the room and finally, with the room looking like new, he peacefully curled up on a big chair and after a few minutes said he would like to go back to his cabin and go to sleep.

In both examples the "interview" is shown as aiming only at restoring control after attacks of anger or aggressive excitement.

No attempt is made to explore, probe, or exert any influence that extends beyond the immediate situation.

2. *Support in moments of "relationship decay"*

Severe ego disturbance seems to make a child prone to withdrawal as a reaction to emotional pressure. Depending upon the specific form of disturbance, this may be an insidious mechanism and may bring the borderline, psychotic child close to actual autistic withdrawal. With the less schizoid but still poorly ego-structured child, there is a heavy tendency to utilize many primitive infantile mechanisms of withdrawal from the adult under the impact of moments of distorted perceptions of adult motives, e.g., of why we interfere when we do, as when we stop a child from taking revenge upon another who has hurt him in some way, or when program gratifications cannot always be equally bestowed upon everyone exactly to his taste, etc.

> Hal became furious when he went to get some bread and Steve took his seat at the table, next to the counselor. Hal began to run around wildly, tried to hit Steve, and had to be taken from the dining room. This produced a second wave of hostility followed by a curious flat withdrawal. Hal sat trying to bend a fork in his hand and would not talk to me or to the caseworker who went along with us into the separate room to which Hal had been taken to finish his breakfast. I began a matter-of-fact conversation about people who could bend a pop bottle top with thumb and forefinger. He immediately responded with a look of interest, and then I told him about how ball players frequently strengthen their forearms by opening and closing their fists around a little rubber ball which they carry. He showed more signs of relatedness and relaxation and then said, putting the fork down, "Dave, I want to eat in here with Marylou (caseworker)." I said, "O. K., fine, and before lunch we'll straighten out that problem with Steve."

Here again, there is nothing except behavioral tone-down and counter-withdrawal that is intended. The utilization of the theme "how to make your muscles stronger"—whatever deeper "masculinity" meaning it may have—was used only as a communicative bridge and served to restore a more warm, friendly relationship than if we had simply let him sit it out, even though it had nothing to do with Hal's basic adjustment problems or his tiff with Steve.

3. *Umpire services*

In giving this name to a type of life-space interview of the first-aid variety, Redl (these are all, by the way, Redl's categories and terms) points to the need of the ego-disturbed child for adult assistance in decision-making crises as well as in what he terms "loaded transactions." This umpiring role may be hooked to internal struggle, oppositional action tendencies between which he cannot choose, or external events involving interactions and their outcomes with people around him.

> Bob and Ray were two boys in the same cabin who kept up an intermittent feud all summer. One day Bob accused Ray of jumping on his suitcase, to which Ray shouted, "Lie!" Ray, in turn, accused Bob of "grabbing my butt" (an aggressive form of sex play, known as "Squirrel" in which boys grab for each other genitals and then run, much like tag, and which we forbid because of the over-exciting consequences). To this Bob yelled, "Lie!" and so it went for at least 45 minutes. Finally Bob said, "I'll bet his footprint is still on my suitcase." So we went to check the print, which could not be distinguished from the myriad scuffs and marks on the case. Smitten suddenly with the humor of the following thought, I said to Bob, "well, we can come here and *look* for Ray's footprint on your box, even if we don't find it, but how could we ever check handprints on butts?" At which Bob looked at me and then positively roared with laughter. Ray, too, "cracked up" at this. So I said, "C'mon you guys, what's the truth?" And unable to keep it up any longer they both good naturedly admitted the truth of each other's accusations and went for a swim, arms around each other's shoulders.

We spend an inordinate amount of time straightening out similar interpersonal peeves and gripes, vendettas, revenge, etc. Of course we are rarely so lucky as to have a humorous angle to reduce aggressive tension as in the above case. However, mutual factual accounting in the presence of a neutral third party for what they have done to each other frequently brings about the perception that they are just about even in being cruel or mean to each other, and it is just as well to drop the matter—for the time being, anyway.

Group application of life-space interview technique

This report has been concerned with explaining the basic ideology of the life-space interviewing approach in terms of its dependence upon the utilization of on-going, live behavior and of the type of malfunctioning that has to be dealt with in working with what we call the delinquent child. As seen in some of the examples, individual and group structures have been approached quite fluidly. We move between the group and the individual unselfconsciously in using our life-space apparatus, but this does not imply that we are unaware of the group interaction process, the shifts in communication pathways which take place in talking with a group as opposed to a single person and the criteria for approaching the whole group or selected individuals within it. In the example concerning Dan we began with the whole group, then took Dan alone. Later, we worked with the indigenous leader of the group alone, with the instigator alone, too, and on different dimensions than the one with Dan. We did not think a total group session would be in order because Dan would not have been able to sit in the same room with some of his chief tormenters anymore than he could in the first instance.

Morse and Small in their paper, "Group Life Space Interviewing in a Therapeutic Camp," (13) analyzed 88 group interviews held at the camp during the summer of 1956. Of these, 27 were tape recorded; the rest were described in the group logs written up by the counselors each day. All these sessions were of the "first aid" type, to increase control over such behavior as aggressiveness with peers, sex play or stimulating talk, hostility to counselors, program resistance, living habits in the cabin or at the table that disturbed others in the groups, or disorganizing excitement. Using counselor logs, followup after the sessions revealed that in 51 of these interviews, the improved behavioral control which was induced held for at least 3 days. As to which of the clinical exploitation goals may have been achieved in these sessions, the data is not explicit and would have to be reanalyzed via content analysis method for such a determination to be made.

Indications and counter-indications for use of the life space interview

Any clinical procedure—be it classical psychoanalytic dream interpretation or life-space interviewing—which depends mainly upon verbal communication and the use of relationship to the target brings with it the question of when and how it should be used, if at all. Redl has suggested some tentative criteria that need, as he indicates, much more exploration (particularly in the realm of application of life-space approach to new settings) of which the following are of great importance (18):

Central theme relevance

How "distant" versus how "central" is the anticipated life space attempt from the basic overall program as well as from where the child stands clinically at a particular moment. Too much clinical exploitation may spoil the natural flavor of the setting which we want to soak in, for clinical reasons equally as strong as those behind the application of the interview; too much "first aid" might create a dangerous overdependence.

Ego proximity and issue clarity

How close to the conscious functioning of a child is the particular item of our clinical exploitation goal? If it is too deeply repressed, we may obscure, not enhance, the clinical goal by picking it up, even though it is obvious to us. On the other hand, if it is pressing at the surface, or already out in the conscious ego, we had better pick it up or the child will wonder why we are so dumb when he has already figured it out for himself. Issue clarity refers to the warning that, since we are dealing in a complex life web for our material, contamination from surrounding events can so reduce the usability of an item or have such an impact upon the ego that we have to let it go and wait for a "cleaner moment."

Role compatibility

Children see the individuals around them not only as people, but also in terms of their *roles*. Different roles lend themselves to different life-space interview goals. In our camp, for example, the counselor is much more suited to "first aid" life-space handling of a kid's fury—over someone accidently crushing his pet frog, for example—than is the camp director, who may be more suited, however, to arbitrating serious gripes between cabinmates that might break down their ability to live together in the same cabin.

Summary

This section of the report has dealt with the life-space interview, a technique with individuals as well as groups, which appears, in the milieu, to hold promise for clinical work with severe ego disturbance, a type of malfunctioning which is held by the writer to be almost epidemiologically prevalent in the "delinquencies," whatever else may be present in the dynamic picture, and which must be dealt with for successful treatment. There are two major subdivisions of this approach, "clinical exploitation of life events," in which an actual training or cure goal of a long-range type is intended, and "emotional first aid on the spot" which has as its main goal temporary aid to control bereft sectors of the ego with no curative implications intended. Each type is broken down into subtypes which are somewhat discrete. Neither the two main types nor any subtypes are mutually exclusive. The choice of a given technique depends upon (*a*) the goal we have in mind, (*b*) the setting of practice, (*c*) the specific type of child, and (*d*) the child's stage in his therapeutic movement.

Speculations for projected research

In the speculation about transfer of a body of techniques from a particular setting to another which may be quite different in many important ways from the one in which the techniques were developed, much specificity in the practice of the techniques in question must be conceded as the "price of transfer." However, this is not prohibitive if the potential utility of the general principles which underlie the techniques can be tested out. It is the impression of a number of workers in life-space interviewing that this can and should be done, and in this section I will deal with some different possibilities for the experimental transfer of this technique into various outpatient facilities which have or could have crucial contact with the ego-disturbed child. However, such speculation about nonmilieu resources does not imply that we have anywhere near the number and variety of residential treatment resources needed for severely disturbed children or for adults in the population at large. The enrichment of nonmilieu resources with life space interviewing—or any other technique—will not reduce such need or provide a cheap solution to this problem. To believe this would be both stupid and tragic.

The basic underlying principle for use of the life-space interview is that of increased proximity to the behavior and experience of its targets. Let us therefore examine the settings in which some stretch of such proximity exists, even if it is not of the round-the-clock variety, within which experimentation in this approach could be launched.

The school

It is difficult to qualify the status of the teaching profession's commitment to treat childhood disorders, the delinquent variety or any other. However, I would like to side-step the value issues involved to point out this: the school has more contact with the average child than has any other extrafamilial, noninstitutional source; furthermore, it is a source of intense psychological influence and penetration in the development of the child. Precisely how school settings could use life-space interview would certainly have to be settled through experimental design specifically created for this purpose, and it would be totally invalid to do more than to offer this as a rich potential arena for such attempts. However, the following specific area, it seems to me, is possible.

Special education settings for children with behavior disorders.

Many of the children who fill the special-education classrooms suffer from precisely the type of disturbances in ego functioning that have been dealt with at some length in this paper. Since they are in a relatively large "life space capsule" 5 days a week, where their individual and group symptoms of ego failure show up with great regularity and frequency, why not begin to deal with them. Here are some of the special problems of experimental design that can be visualized:

1. Role distribution for different subgoals of life-space interview between teacher, school social worker, principal.
2. The pros and cons of including in such designs a resident clinical psychologist or psychiatrist, who would perform a clinical function related to diagnosis and standard interviewing as this became indicated.
3. Whether the school's social-work role is best utilized by attaching it to a specific classroom, which would increase proximity to the hour-to-hour behavioral flow, or by setting up a roving unit of school social workers who will serve a total school setting as a "clinical combat team." (Either approach visualizes a great increase of school social workers in most areas. The present ratio of school work to population is ridiculous as far as clinical effectiveness is concerned, even for children with severe ego disturbance.)
4. The training of all personnel in the use of the life-space approach.
5. Optimum balance between subject learning and clinical management of the child.

Apropos of this last point it is well to remember that the school setting, even the special school with all its rich potential for clinical work, cannot remain simply a clinic. Morse has stated this quite pointedly in a recent paper (12). He argues (not only in connection with disturbed children but even in the classroom handling of normals):

> It makes a huge difference in the mental health program if one really accepts the essential quality of the teaching profession and believes that the cutting edge of school mental health is the classroom rather than the specialist's office," (yet) "the teacher still feels the role of 'teacher.' He is concerned with *learning* [Morse's italics] more or less in the traditional sense. There are skills to be mastered, facts to be learned, and concepts to be understood. The mental hygiene experts, by and large, have ignored this area of the teacher's dilemma. Many are ill trained to help the teacher with these conditions. In fact teachers came to accept the myth that learning and adjustment were separate processes rather than two phases of the same process."

Whether or not one goes all the way with Morse on the singularity of learning and adjustment, the classroom that becomes a clinical arena cannot abandon the educational function. Thus there are many problems in setting up clinical shop in school settings with which to experiment with life-space interview. The biggest one is getting started.

The All Day Neighborhood School set up by the New York City Board of Education in a high delinquency area in East Harlem, New York City, is open at least 9 hours a day, and specially trained teachers lead clubs of school children after school. The Bureau of Child Guidance of the Board of Education, in cooperation with the ADNS program, assigns a school social worker almost full time to this school. The social worker has an office in the school and as a member of a team that includes a psychologist and a psychiatrist, treats children there. The psychologist works directly in the school one day a week; the psychiatrist operates out of a unit office in East Harlem. Rosner has reported on this program in two separate papers (23, 24). His interview data indicates that such close proximity as this program offers to the treatment person opens many new vistas for a clinical approach. Previous contact with traditional child guidance clinics was not possible for some of the same children. The full evaluation of results of this particular program has yet to be made. However, there is evidence that even this much diminution of the distance between clinical procedure and child resulted in a much greater contact power for reaching the child.

Social agency settings

There is a real need for planned experimentation by the social agency in fruitful combinations of casework and group work under the same roof with the same children. This is not a new idea; there are a number of places where it is done. However, we suffer from a token rather than a real service in this respect. For instance, in Detroit there is only one agency where this currently is being tried, a most unfortunate situation in a city which ranks within the first five cities in the United States in population. What is meant by group work is not merely group-interview design but, more importantly, activity settings out of which "life-space capsules" can be formed, within which behavior incidents would be exposed to some forms of life-space interviewing even though their frequency, intensity, and depth might well be different from those that arise in a residential, camp, or school setting. Here, too, experimental procedures would have to be devised to give us more knowledge of how to exploit group and individual approaches and what would be the optimum roles of groupworker and caseworker.

The children who could be approached via such settings (and are not now) would be those whose ego disorganization is too advanced to be handled in play therapy, whose alibi and distortion machinery is too well oiled to allow the agency worker to trap, for interview purposes, valid samples of their outside behavior, and who require more than the relationship gratification alone to stay in contact with a change agent; who need, in other words, real program gratification if they are to return for help. Redl, in the Detroit Group Project of the early 40's in Detroit, demonstrated the workings of such an approach even though the children who were referred to his eight therapy groups came from a variety of family casework, or child guidance agencies, etc. So did S. L. Slavson of the Jewish Board of Guardians in New York, who wrote about it in too many publications to list and also Gisela Konopka, back in the 40's in connection with the Pittsburgh Child Guidance Clinic (9). We must revive such attempts, not for demonstrations, but for effective coverage.

Enrichment and wider distribution of the "detached worker approach"

In geographical areas where there is definite subcultural reinforcement of aggressive behavior, these design possibilities may fall short of the mark or need augmenting by approaches which cannot so easily be warded off by reference-group hatred and opposition. In such instances, short of residential treatment taking the child away from his neighborhood altogether, infiltration of his day-to-day experience becomes almost the only chance of the change agent's coming to grips with the child's problems. This approach is typified by the work of the New York City Youth Board and is best described in its chief publications (15, 16). The Board workers show skill in infiltration tactics, in the creation of program gratifications for the kids without which their contact power would be weakened, and in conflict mediation between warring gangs. In the latter there is great similarity to the life-space interview of the first-aid type; I would suspect, although I have not observed this program firsthand, that some clinical goal functions are also served by this approach, although not consciously or systematically. We need *more* of this in areas that require it. From the literature, it appears that such a design is weakened by the fact that it has not built in enough clinical attack on the ego pathology. Rather, attempts are made to use referral to other agencies, a practice feared and fought off by some of the kids. If there is to be a richer clinical attack function it may be necessary to think of adding to the detached-worker role, which may be too narrow for a fruitful expansion of life-space interview exploitation of relevant types and phases of behavior. We have found that setting-identified personnel with different roles have a much greater entree into the functioning and operation of the communication system of the targets than those who may be perceived as outgroup or alien. For example, a psychiatrist who traveled around with the detached worker and gang and who behaved differently from the worker but was still part of the group would have greater entree than a person with the same skill who was not identified with the group. The principle of the uncontaminated person becomes operative as others are added, outside of their specific role functions. If I, as the detached worker, separate two kids in a knife fight, I might not be the best person to talk with them about the feelings and motives involved. If another worker with the identical role was present but not an active control agent in this episode, he might have more of an entree. So by adding role functions and by simply having more people around with the same role, it might be possible to enrich the clinical function and facilitate the use of life-space interview in detached worker design. Of course, clinical training would have to be a part of the equipment of such workers. I am not sure that this has been the case in detached-worker design, which has used part-time help not trained in either social work, psychology, or psychiatry. While it is true that many professionals would be totally lost with a street gang, the choice in this area would be for someone who has good "on-the-street" group-work and relationship skills of the type these workers seem to have, plus sound clinical training.

Clinical camping

For children who are trapped in pathology-supportive subcultures or those who have worn down the local personnel, even if they are not in such areas, by the severity of their disturbance, clinical camping can offer valuable and clinically relevant service. First of all it provides a "total treatment capsule" even though of short duration. Second, especially if there are good home treatment facilities, it may augment whatever gains are already being made and also offers priceless diagnostic observations that can only come in a continuous setting with a child. Finally, clinical camping gives us an opportunity to assess just how much a child may need this as opposed to the out-patient treatment he may currently be receiving. Unfortunately, there are probably less than 10 clinically staffed camps—of the nonprofit type for working- and lower-class kids—ready to do such a job in the entire country.

Ancillary services for outpatient treatment

The above has been speculation about experimentation with a highly specific technique in a variety of outpatient settings for delinquent children. It should be obvious that this will not do the whole trick: we have already disavowed particularistic approaches. However, assuming a miracle, let us say that all these recommendations become effective. This will still be a fairly dismal picture unless we can get ancillary programs that will provide the following types of resources:

1. Adequate residential facilities of various types for those who need them. Without them, outpatient facilities will become dumping grounds no matter how carefully planned, and we still will not be able to make good judgments about outpatient versus inpatient care due to lack of service familiarity with the different types of disturbance intensities. Commingling in the open community between children who need residential care and those who don't leaves "virulent carriers of delinquent infection" around and increases the possibility of epidemic wave effects.
2. Adequate community reception machinery for youngsters coming out of residential care; for example, more halfway houses and after-care handling for children who are ready to come back to the community but still not able to carry a full load of community adjustment responsibility.
3. Enrichment of services to the hard-to-reach family in crisis. Although delinquency is not necessarily caused by such families, it seems to be true that many of the children who produce problem behavior are already located in these families. Effective services to such families will still be needed, or whatever we do for their children may be done in vain. We need to get closer to the day-to-day existence and problems of such families, something like more "curb-service" aggressive casework and groupwork. There is a slowly growing trend to meet this need in American social work, and some good demonstration projects have been fairly well publicized, among others, the Family Centered Project of St. Paul. Hopefully, such services may be expanded into more than token approaches (10, 29).

Discussion

In the discussion following Dr. Wineman's paper, Dr. Wattenberg mentioned that ordinary classroom teachers in regular classroom situations do a tremendous amount of "life-space interviewing" in helping students improve their social relationships. He cited several studies which seem to indicate that good counseling makes a difference in rescuing youthful offenders from continued delinquency, even when such counseling is incidental and not necessarily part of a special program. He suggested that it might be a worthwhile experiment to assign a number of people to a few schools in high-delinquency areas to help teachers through life-space interviewing do some of the more-or-less curative scolding necessary to deal with incidents as they arise.

In response to a question on whether techniques developed in the camp could be learned by teachers dealing with predelinquent children in school, Dr. Wineman pointed out that the total school climate would have to be taken into account, since life-space interviewers would have to face the fact that the school is not a sanatorium for disturbed children. Techniques found effective in camp could not often be transferred to the school setting. Although the camp would send materials on the child back to the referring agency, in some cases the child's school, if a social agency had referred the child to the camp, that agency would be responsible for followup with the school.

As for homogeneous or heterogeneous grouping, there was a danger that a special group of delinquents might well become the organized terror of a school just as a "tough" cabin might operate as the terror cabin of a camp. Since such students tend to drift together, however, homogeneous grouping might be advisable, if the school administration could handle it. In heterogeneous groups the youngsters who are not delinquent might be terrorized by the delinquents and forced to go along with their behavior. In response to a question as to whether the nondelinquent child might have a good influence on the delinquent one, Dr. Wineman said he thought the influence was more likely to operate in the opposite direction.

Special programs to get ego-damaged, highly aggressive children out of the disruptive patterns which they produce in regular classrooms might be advisable in some schools, under the direction of a well-trained teacher, but there would be a possibility that such arrangements as extra playground time for a special group might have a harmful effect and arouse a certain amount of envy or resentment in children in the regular program.

Several members of the group engaged in a discussion of whether teacher education institutions could increase the competence of teachers to understand the kinds of pupils they would encounter in some of these lower-class neighborhoods. There was a question as to whether teachers generally come from middle-class society; it was pointed out that youngsters from all levels of society are now able to go to college; and although many wish to rise above their environment and forget where they came from, others are glad to work with less privileged children because of some identification they still feel with them. Many teachers would have to learn to cope with difficult situations in these environments after they had been assigned to a particular school. Dr. Wineman referred to Dr. Cloward's design-of-opportunity structure—no matter how talented, well-trained, or inspired a teacher might be, he could not improve upon the opportunity structure of the design in which he works. His effectiveness as a teacher would depend largely on the school administration and its ability to bring about changes, since there is a mutual relationship between what individuals can give and what they can get out of working in a design in terms of objectives, techniques, and so forth. It would be tragic to inspire someone and then put him in a setting where he could not use his training and inspiration, for he would be forced either to sink to the level of the setting or to escape from it.

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II

Research on the School Work-Study Program in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency

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MOST JUVENILE DELINQUENCY is found among lower-class boys. Also, the facts indicate that most of these delinquent boys have a record of failure in school and are of below average intelligence. This paper and the experiment it proposes will deal primarily with this, the most common aspect of juvenile delinquency. Another type, sometimes called "middle-class delinquency," will not be considered. Only a few suggestions will be made about the prevention of delinquency and maladjustment among lower-class girls.

The delinquency of lower-class boys has increased sharply since World War II, and it is not limited to large cities or to "gangs" in the formal sense. Smaller communities have juvenile delinquency, though some of the gang aspects are reduced in importance, probably due to the smaller numbers of boys and therefore the impossibility of forming rival gangs of equivalent ages. The distribution of delinquency in a typical midwestern city of 43,000, for a group of boys studied from the age of 11 to 19, is shown in table 1. Four levels of seriousness of delinquency are recognized. Levels I and II are serious enough to suggest that these boys might continue in a criminal career. Level IV consists largely of traffic offenses or of "mischief" at ages 10-13 and is not regarded as true delinquency.

All the boys in category I, the most serious, dropped out of school without finishing high school. Fifteen of 19 in category II, and 18 of 21 in category III, also dropped out of school. Intellectually, most of the serious delinquents are in the lowest quarter of the age group, and only two out of 17 in category I are above average. Yet two out of three boys in the lowest socioeconomic quartile in

TABLE 1.—*Delinquency category and social class of River City boys*

Social class	Delinquency category				
	Most Serious I	II	III	Least Serious IV	Total Number in age cohort
TOTAL	16	18	16	46	247
A (Upper and upper middle)	0	1	0	2	22
B (Lower middle)	2	2	4	14	64
C (Upper lower)	5	6	7	19	91
D (Lower lower)	9	9	5	11	70

this community did not become delinquent, and a large majority of those of the lowest quartile of intelligence did not become delinquent (3). A theory of delinquency causation such as described by Paul H. Bowman in *Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency* must take facts like these into account (1).

Theories of causation of juvenile delinquency

Theories of the causation of the predominant form of male juvenile delinquency differ somewhat on the degree to which the delinquent (*a*) is simply acting in accordance with a deviant lower-class subculture and therefore doing what comes naturally to his social class; or (*b*) has accepted the goals of the dominant middle-class culture but has become hostile to it because he is failing to meet its expectations (5). Although the different theories suggest somewhat different approaches to the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency, the use of a work-study program as a preventive measure is congenial to all major theories.

Circumstances leading a boy to delinquency

A chain of circumstances which makes a juvenile become delinquent appears to be the following:

1. Boys want to grow up to gain the rewards of manhood, as well as to satisfy the expectations of their families, teachers, and friends. They see before them two alternative patterns of adult success: (*a*) a steady job, good pay, automobile, girl friends or wife, etc.; (*b*) progress through high school which leads to *a* or

progress through high school and college leading to *a*. The channel through school is becoming more and more the *only* avenue to successful adult status. Boys see fewer and fewer young men getting a good job, etc. without high school graduation. All kinds of boys want the status of young manhood with job, money, etc. Some boys want the job and the money as soon as possible. Other boys are content to wait for these things while taking a slow journey through high school and college. Lower-class boys tend to want the job and the adult status as early as possible.

2. Certain boys have difficulty in growing up through the channel offered by the school. About 15 percent of all boys fall in this group. They tend to have below average intellectual ability, to come from lower-class homes, and to have a history of failure and misbehavior in school. By the age of 13 or 14 their teachers and agemates can generally recognize them. As recently as 1930, most of these boys could quit school and go to work in the city or on a farm, with a reasonably clear pathway for growth into manhood ahead of them; but the changes in employment opportunity for boys since 1920 have blocked this avenue of growth. In that year, 48 percent of boys aged 14–17 in Chicago were employed. In 1940, only 10 percent of the boys in this age range were employed, and that proportion is even smaller today.

3. These boys may react to their failure to grow up successfully through the school in either of two ways: (*a*) They look for alternative pathways to adulthood with little success. They seek jobs but have difficulty in finding and holding them. They secure automobiles and other symbols of manly status as early as possible. (In a Montana study, for instance, it was found that most high-school-age boys who owned cars were from working-class families and were failing in school.) (*b*) Alternatively, they seek certain gratifications that make their failure to grow up more tolerable, such as the excitement of fighting and drinking, the "easy" profits of stealing, and sexual activities. These activities do not help them grow up, but they fill the gap of the adolescent years until the boys become old enough and mature enough to make some sort of adult adjustment.

It is recognized that this is a description, only, and not a cause-and-effect analysis of the process of becoming delinquent. This description fits the facts and gives a setting for the experimental work-study program proposed in this paper.

Two Approaches to Delinquency Prevention

There are two general approaches to the prevention of juvenile delinquency. They are not contradictory; it is possible to combine them, and most programs do seek to combine them in various proportions.

The community organization approach

This procedure is based on the assumption that the youth-serving institutions of the society can be strengthened sufficiently to help most young people who are vulnerable to delinquency. The institutions which need strengthening are: home, school, social agencies, law enforcement agencies, and certain informal local community institutions. The *home* should be strengthened through more effective casework services and through parent education; the *school* should be strengthened through more effective teaching methods applied to predelinquents; the *social agencies* should develop more effective recreation services, street club worker services, and youth employment services; the *law enforcement agencies* should develop more effective juvenile departments and probation and treatment services. According to this view, improvement by even a small amount in each of these areas will be cumulative, and thus the extent and degree of juvenile delinquency will be reduced.

Examples of improvement which seem promising are: (*a*) Training of "detached workers" for service on the staffs of settlement houses, community centers, YMCA's, etc., and providing enough of these workers to serve the delinquent and semidelinquent gangs of our cities; (*b*) discovering at the first-grade level those children who have difficulty with reading because of cultural deprivation in the home and teaching them in special classes until they have really mastered the reading task and can thus avoid the common sequence of school failure, frustration, aggressive behavior in school, dropouts, and delinquency.

The work-role approach

The basic problem of a substantial subgroup of boys is the lack of opportunity to grow up. The work-role approach seeks to restore that opportunity, which this type of boy had in past generations, by restoring the juvenile work role as a possible and desirable means of growing up. This is not the same thing as prescribing a dose of work in order to keep boys busy and out of mischief. Work is to give these boys rewards that they covet and will work for and thus reduce the chances of their becoming delinquent.

Delinquency is seen as a possible response to a situation in which a young man cannot find a legitimate or "normal" path for growing into adult status. He is failing in school and therefore finds this normal pathway of growth blocked. The alternative pathway of working and earning money is also blocked because juvenile jobs are disappearing from our economy and because the youth who is failing in school is generally so badly adjusted that he has poor work habits and is a poor risk for employment in the few jobs available to young people. Thus he has nothing but free time on his hands; he seeks illegitimate ways of getting the symbols of adulthood or of finding substitute thrills, and the effort of social and community agencies to help through developing better recreational facilities with better leadership for him and his kind is likely to fail.

Furthermore, the community controls (parents, behavior models among the young adults, law enforcement) are inadequate because they are not backed by a set of available roles in the community which ordinarily fill a good part of the day and use the energies of this type of youth constructively. In this connection the British experience with school, work, and juvenile delinquency may be cited. In England the juvenile work role is more generally available than in the United States. The British economy is not so highly mechanized, and there are more jobs as delivery boys, office boys, apprentices, etc. These jobs become available to boys at the legal school-leaving age, which formerly was 14 and has been raised to 15. In England it is expected that a majority of boys will quit school and go to work at the legal school-leaving age, and the British economy expects them to do so, pays them juvenile wages, and gives them juvenile work roles.

A recent report by the Central Advisory Committee on Education, an advisory committee to the Ministry of Education, discusses the development of "secondary education for all" in England and the forthcoming rise of the legal school-leaving age to 16. Data are given for delinquency (convictions for indictable offenses per 100,000 boys) for boys aged 13, 14, and 15 since 1937. These data show variations of delinquency, with recent increases. The school-leaving age was changed from 14 to 15 in 1947. That is, before 1947 the boys aged 14 generally were at work; after 1947 these boys generally were in their last year of school. Before 1947, the delinquency rate was higher among 13-year-olds (the last year of compulsory schooling) than among 14-year-olds. Since 1947, the delinquency rate for 14-year-olds has exceeded the rate for 13-year-olds, *and also the rate for 15-year-olds.* In other words, the delinquency rate for the last year of school is higher than the rate for the first year out of school, at work. It may be that the boys at work feel more sure about their progress toward adulthood and suffer less frustration from school failure, with less need for "acting out" against society (2).

The case of Roy Cranston illustrates the value of the work role in protecting a boy against delinquency. Roy has grown up in the midwestern community for which table 1 gives delinquency data. He was able to find steady work after he quit school. With an IQ about 80, and with a working-class home background, Roy repeated the fifth grade but still was a failing student and quit school as soon as he was 16. On sociometric tests given when Roy was 13 and 15 years old, he was seen by his age-mates and by his teachers as one of the most aggressive boys in his class. A high aggressiveness score in this group was highly predictive of later delinquency.

After Roy dropped out of school, he was interviewed about his present job and his earlier school experiences. He was asked about the teachers he liked best and least, and he had the following to say about Mr. Albright, his seventh-grade teacher.

> "Albright—he was the one I liked the least. I still don't care much for him. What started it all over at Garfield, I was helping the principal with some tables in the gym. He sent a few of us down to do the job. They had a new floor on the gym. Anyway, I had trouble with Albright before and he held a grudge. And I was always smarting off to him. Well, some kids were playing basketball on this new floor with shoes on. Albright came in there and yelled at me to get out of the gym. He blew his stack and I said, 'You tell those other guys to get out and I'll get out.' He grabbed me by the neck and arm and about broke my arm off and I knocked him on his rump down three or four steps. I went up to the office and told the principal to call him off of me or I'd kill Albright. Albright started smarting off and I got mad and threw some books at him. Later, he accused me of putting paint on his car at Halloween. It was two of his pets and the most sissified kids in the class that did it."

In a visit made to Roy's home, his mother was interviewed.

> The Cranston family lives in a small, deteriorating brick house with apparently two rooms downstairs and possibly one or two rooms upstairs under a small gabled roof. The house is closely hemmed in by substandard dwellings on either side. Several large elm trees near the street shade the front yard, which is small and without grass. Roots from the elm trees have spread through the surface of the front yard causing the brick walks across the front of the house and leading to the house to buckle in places. There is no landscaping in the front yard. The brick walk leads past the east side of the house, and one long cement step runs

across two doors, one an entrance to the front room and the other to the kitchen. There is a screen at the kitchen door; the screen is rusty and the door frame and door both have a dirty chipped grey paint.

Roy was home alone when I called the first time; he was combing his slick black hair at the kitchen sink. The kitchen looked dark and dingy with a table piled with dirty dishes and cereal boxes. Roy did not bother to come to the door, he talked to me from the sink, apparently thinking I was a school representative trying to talk him into returning to school. He told me to return late in the day to see his mother. When I found her at home it was difficult to explain my purpose to her. She was a short plump woman, rather sloppy in dress and with black kinky hair parted on the side. She had big brown eyes and a round, rather friendly face. Her smile exposed large gaps between her upper front teeth. She wore a blue cotton housedress and black house slippers. She thought I was trying to urge Roy into returning to school. She said that she thought he should go too, but that she wasn't going to force him. After I explained that I was not here for that purpose she could see no special reason for our spending the time on an interview, as long as the boy was no longer in school. She finally agreed for me to return on a Saturday morning and concluded by saying that if she was present we would talk and if she wasn't we would just forget about it. Therefore I hardly expected her to be home when I called on Saturday. She did not take me into the house and suggested that it might be cooler back on a long picnic table in the rear yard. She led the way back to a shaded spot.

The rear yard was cluttered somewhat with old scraps of metal, including an old lawn mower and parts of a car motor. There was an old-style Ford parked in the back yard. There was a fenced area with several mallard ducks caged up. Mrs. Cranston said that her husband used them for decoys although they were not legal in hunting. There were some hoop fishing nets suspended over the fencing. She said that her husband had done quite a bit of commercial fishing on the side. She said that he worked as a construction worker for the union; she meant that the union got his employment on construction jobs from time to time. She was employed at a laundry at the moment and Roy had been working with her for about a week. Other members of the family were Fay, 18, employed as a waitress, Patricia, age 15, a sophomore in high school, and James, 2. I re-explained the purpose of the Commission since she had a little trouble in understanding what we are doing. She commented that she had only gone to the eighth grade in school and that her husband had only finished the sixth grade.

"What kind of day does Roy have at the present time? By that I mean just how does he get along with everybody at different times of the day, like breakfast and mealtime and bedtime?"

"Well right now I don't even know where he is. I guess he is at some boy friend's house. He must have gone there last night but he didn't let us know. He talked to me a few weeks ago about staying overnight with a boy on the farm and then working the next day to earn a little money. I told him that I didn't think he should and he said, "Why I did that before," and that was the first I knew about it. He doesn't always tell me what he is doing. I suppose he was out at that farm last night or at one of his friends in town. When they get to be about 16 years old you just don't know where they are and I can understand it. I was married when I was 16 years old and my hubby is the kind that went on his own pretty young. He thinks it is allright for a boy to be that way. But Roy is a pretty good boy. He will scrub the floor or wash clothes and iron his own clothes. I always say he will make a pretty good woman for somebody. He doesn't mind too well and you have to coax him a lot to do things."

"Do you find that he loses his temper around the house pretty easy?"

"Oh, yes, he is hotheaded and if he gets against us he is fighting mad."

"Did this happen much when he was in school?"

"Yes, I think it did. Now he has helped out at the laundry the past week. He came home the other night and said that someone was flipping an old towel at him and that he had a notion to tell him off. He's a boy who won't be run over. He gets to looking kind of droopy once in a while and I think it is because he is out so late. I notice that down at work. I didn't think he would stay with it and I asked him the other day, 'Well, Roy, when are you going to quit this job?' But he surprised me. He said, 'Why should I quit, I'm just getting started.' "

"What do you find works best for discipline with Roy when he does something wrong?"

"Generally we just talk to him or give him a good booting. Most of the time just talking does best, I think."

"What sort of things do you have to discipline him for?"

"I don't remember just offhand. Maybe he won't do something that you tell him to—like burning the rubbish. Then you have to give him a good talking to or a bat. It isn't anything awful bad, though."

"Has Mr. Cranston been able to help you much in raising the kids, or have you had most of the responsibility?"

"He thinks I'm the one who should tell the kids what to do because I'm here with them most of the time or at least had been until I started work. But I can't get them to do things very easy. When he is home he will tell them and flog them quicker than I will. They sort of wear me down."

"Do you mean he is more quick-tempered than you are?"

"No, he isn't quick-tempered, but he will just boot them quicker to get them to move." She laughed and said, "He hasn't killed any of them yet. Then they sort of hold it against me. It is that old grind of telling them too many times to do something and they sort of blame me for having to tell them. I tell Roy and Patsy to do something so many times. When they won't do it, I'll tell my husband and then they had better do it."

"What does your hubby do in his spare time?"

"He hunts and fishes and goes to car races."

While we were talking about him, Mr. Cranston backed another old car into the yard from the alley. He was a husky man of medium height, with a large flushed face. He was neatly dressed, wearing a summer cap, a tan sport shirt, blue wash pants and cloth shoes. He pushed the little 2-year-old a bit in a swing near our bench and then sat down with us.

This interview suggests a family with lower-class attitudes and culture. The father is a tough, profane man who does not hesitate to break the game laws. But the family is cohesive. Roy gets warm affection from father and mother, and a degree of firm but kindly discipline from the father. These influences tend to protect the boy from delinquency. However, it seems likely that Roy would soon have gotten into trouble if he had loafed around town for the next couple of years after he quit school. Instead, he took a job at the laundry where his mother worked, and soon afterward got an unskilled job on a construction crew. He stuck at this job, worked steadily and willingly, received pay raises, and got married when he was 18. Since then he has begun to learn carpentry skills, and is getting more responsible work assignments. He has also become a father. Roy will probably become a lower-class type like his father. He will probably break the game laws by shooting ducks and taking fish illegally, but he will not do the senseless, violent, aggressive things that are seen in boys who do not find a pathway to adulthood.

History of School Work-Study Program

The proposal of this paper is that a work-study program be established under school auspices to aid the 15 percent of boys whose growth to adulthood is blocked in the academic school. This type of work-study program is different from the usual type found in secondary schools, though a few schools have begun to experiment with the type here proposed.

Work-study programs have been rather common in secondary schools since the depression decade of the 1930's, when secondary schools began to serve a custodial function for youth who were not well adapted to academic school programs. Before 1930 there was a relatively small amount of "cooperative education" at the secondary level, where the schools cooperated with local business and industry to provide a half-day of work and a half-day of related schoolwork. The government-aided diversified occupations program was started in 1933. Before this time, in 1928, there were 78 cities with 5,682 pupils enrolled in cooperative courses under the Smith-Hughes Act. Since World War II there has been a substantial growth of work experience programs in schools. In the survey of work experience education programs published by the U.S. Office of Education in 1957, 145 items in the working bibliography of 276 items were produced after 1950 (4). More than 200 articles, books, and research reports on work experience education have been published since 1941.

The work programs of the Civilian Conservation Corps and of the National Youth Administration during the 1930's were generally evaluated as good educational experience as well as a good way of extending financial aid to needy youth during the depression.

The following types of work experience are now found in secondary schools.

1. In-school, nonremunerative general education programs. Students have experience in school as typists, clerks, parking lot attendants, messengers, multigraph operators, library assistants, cafeteria assistants, motion picture machine operators, locker maintenance. They are not paid except for after-school work. In some cases, credit is given toward graduation.

2. Out-of-school, nonremunerative general education programs. Community service work in noncommercial organizations; such as libraries, parks, social agencies, elementary schools; or student-learner assignments in physicians' or dentists' offices, architects' studios, hospitals, city or county offices.

3. Remunerative general education programs at the junior high school level. For young people who are likely to drop out of school at age 16. Usually provided for 15-year-olds. School credit and "going wages" are given. Jobs as busboys, messengers, waitresses, car washers, printers' helpers, salesclerks.

4. Remunerative general education programs for pupils in senior high school. This type of program is for senior high school students who will profit personally and economically from work experience in such a way as to make the schooling more attractive and more successful. Scholastic credit is generally given for work coordinated with school studies. Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Pasadena, and several other California cities have very successful programs of this sort. Standard wages are paid for jobs in such areas as merchandising, domestic service, office work, laboratory and factory work.

5. Remunerative vocational programs in senior high schools not subsidized by Federal vocational education funds.

A "diversified occupations" type of course is offered, mainly to high school juniors and seniors, often in schools or communities too small to qualify for the Federal subsidy. Some work experience students will be in selling jobs, some in office assignments, and some in factories. An effort is made to place the student in the field of employment where he is likely to work as an adult. Students are normally over age 16 in this type of program. Work experience programs in business education generally fall into this category. Students are often selected rather carefully for good school records, but there are some programs for students who are misfits in school. Detroit's "job upgrading program" has been in existence since 1942 as a means of aiding school-leavers to become employable.

6. Remunerative vocational programs in high schools subsidized from Federal vocational education funds. Since 1917 with passage of the Smith-Hughes Act, amplified in 1946 by the George-Barden Act, a cooperative part-time education and employment program has been available to high school juniors and seniors. Jobs are in the trade, industrial, or distributive occupations. This is the most highly selective program and is seldom available to a student who has done poor work in school.

Programs for maladjusted youth

All six types of programs have the value of introducing a young person into the work role relatively early and giving him a chance to profit from the self-assurance and the discipline that go with this role. However, the programs limited to senior high school pupils, especially if they are limited to juniors and seniors, come too late to be of much use to the delinquency-prone youth, who seldom reaches the eleventh grade. Furthermore, these popular work experience programs are often limited to pupils with a reasonably good school record and therefore are not available to the failing student.

From the point of view of delinquency prevention, programs at the junior high school level are essential, and they must be open to students with poor school and behavior records. Therefore the programs of the first three types are the ones from which the most can be learned for this particular purpose. These programs are not numerous, and none has been evaluated as a means of delinquency prevention.

Roth (6) made a study of work-permit issuance and work-study programs in the area around Syracuse, New York, and came to the following conclusions:

- Under the current child labor regulations in New York State, a child under 16 years of age cannot be employed in most of the job opportunities available through the work-study program. Participation of 14- to 16-year-olds would either require a special exemption to the State Labor Law or some modification of this law. The desirability of such modification and the implementation of a work-study program beginning at about age 14, or the ninth grade, should certainly be considered.
- Work-study programs are definitely not designed for the slow learner or the retarded learner. Rather, they are designed for the youngster who has at least average ability but does not wish to pursue the more traditional college-entrance course of study.

Roth found one program aimed at young people whose school records were unsatisfactory and who were therefore not eligible for a cooperative work-study program. The experimental program was called a "work experience program." It attempts to reach youngsters who need to work but who do not fit into the co-op program because of their lack of academic achievement. The work experience does not involve a full 40-hour program and is still tentative in its organization. It does not differ greatly from the work-study program, though it tries to reach youngsters who do not have the same level of motivation found among work-study participants.

A second experimental program has been instituted because of a large number of students dropping out of the regular school programs. Upon analyzing this trend, school officials concluded that the curriculum was too narrow, especially for slow learners who expressed some interest in working. Since the co-op program requires that a student be at least 16 years old and in the junior year, the school administrators decided to construct a plan for students who might otherwise withdraw from school because they are old for their grade level and low in academic achievement.

The Syracuse school people studied some of the programs of a neighboring community but decided these programs filled the needs of a different level of achievers. They then instituted in their own school what is called a "terminal program." It has as its main emphasis the training of slow students for occupational roles. The IQ range of participation is about 75 to 90. This program is now on a pilot basis and remains highly tentative in its functioning. So far, plans call for a 2-year program base. Youngsters in the program will be closely supervised and given a high degree of individual attention.

CCC—type programs

Since the Civilian Conservation Corps program of the 1930's, educators and social workers have been aware of the value of a work-experience program in which boys are placed in a healthful, disciplined environment and put to work on supervised, socially beneficial projects. The custodial function of the CCC was especially valuable for boys who could not succeed in the high school academic program.

A number of cities and States have used work camps and organized farm projects for delinquent boys, with considerable success. This type of work experience can be organized on a county or a State base. Senator Hubert Humphrey introduced a bill in Congress that would set up a new form of Civilian Conservation

Corps (7). This idea has much in its favor, but it has two shortcomings from the point of view of delinquency prevention. One disadvantage is that it may not start early enough. A delinquency *prevention* program should start with boys as young as 13 or 14. A program to include over 10 to 15 percent of the boys of this age would have to keep the boys at home and find work projects within the community for them. A related disadvantage is that a CCC-type program would probably not reach enough boys or would be extremely expensive if it grew to cover 10 percent or more of them.

A possible alternative to the Humphrey proposal would be a Federal-aid program, administered through the States, for work-study projects organized on a county or a city basis. This would allow for a limited use of work-camp projects within a larger program that would include a variety of work experience.

Proposed Experiment

My proposal is to develop a work-study program under school auspices, starting at the age of 13 or 14 and at the eighth grade of school. This program will be for the 15 percent of the boys who are failing in school and who are average or below in measured intelligence.

The new type of work-study experience really requires a new institution, though it may function as part of a school system. The new institution will be staffed by the kind of man who can direct the work of a group of boys, and who is, personally, a model for them to imitate. It will have to have the interest and moral support of employers and of labor unions, because it will involve the creation of a category of juvenile jobs which may not be efficient in our economy. Employers and labor unions will perhaps cooperate with school people in creating this new institution, which must function at public expense as a part of the educational system, although it may involve some sacrifice of efficiency by employers and of control over jobs by labor unions. A system of progressive steps in the young workers' career can be defined, from simple work in a labor gang for boys 13-15 years old, followed by individual part-time jobs under supervision of the school, to culmination in full-time "regular" jobs by age 17 or 18. Provision can be made for the return of the boy to full-time academic work in school if he shows positive motivation for it, though the general expectation is that he will move from the work-study program to employment, using continuation school or evening school for upgrading and for general education after he has achieved the role of full-fledged worker.

With his role of worker established as an alternative pathway to adulthood, the youth can then profit from the services of recreational agencies, churches, and other community agencies. He will not be forced into substitute activities for growth.

Identification of the boys

In the sixth and seventh grades the boys would be identified by study of school records of their grades and their intellectual ability and by ratings from teachers and from agemates through the use of sociometric tests. The final phase of the identification process would be a visit to the homes of the boys selected by the screening procedures as probably needing this kind of experience. The home visit would eliminate those whose families seemed able to carry them along without the special work-study program.

Work program

At the age of 13 or 14 the boys identified in the screening phase would be assigned to a work-study program. This would be like any other school assignment. If parents objected, in certain cases the boys would be placed on probation in the academic program. The work program would be supervised by trained men, with teaching experience. They might use assistant supervisors without full teacher-training credentials, and they might eventually use graduates of this program as assistants. The cost of supervision should not be higher than the cost of providing academic teachers for these boys for the same length of time.

The boys would be placed in work teams of various sizes, depending on the nature of the work, the time of the year, and their experience in the projects. Some work teams would be transported by school bus to work sites such as a park, a beach, or a farm; others would work in the immediate vicinity of the school, keeping alleys clean, looking after neighborhood parks and playgrounds. Others would work with the school in a special workshop, on jobs sent to the school. The boys would continue to attend their own neighborhood elementary school or junior high school.

The school day (half-day) would be divided into about 3 hours of supervised work and an equal amount of study of the basic subjects, taught by regular teachers but adapted to the level of these boys. The boys would be graded on their work in terms of such qualities as cooperation, punctuality, and efficiency and graded in the school subjects in the usual way. If it proved to be desirable, to give status to the programs, boys might be paid a nominal wage of perhaps a dollar a week for their work at this level. There should be a trained counselor to work with boys who had difficulty in adjusting to the work program.

Second level work program

The first-level work program would be a group experience of doing socially useful work. It would last a year or so, depending on the boy's progress. The next step would be individual work assignments. The boy would be paid a juvenile wage in these assignments; the employer would deal directly with him, while the work supervisor kept in touch and evaluated his work. The work assignment might be carried out during school time, but in many cases it would carry over to after-school work and weekends and would vary from single jobs such as mowing lawns, raking leaves, or passing out handbills to regular jobs as messenger or delivery boy, helper in a service station, etc. Again the boy would be graded on his work; he would report regularly to his work supervisor, and he would regard this as a step toward full-time post-school employment. This second-level program would last until school-leaving age or to about 16 or 17. Schoolwork would continue 2 or 3 hours a day in the basic subjects.

At this level a few boys would move back into full-time academic work, having matured to the point where they wanted full-time schoolwork and were able to pass it. They would have to have passing grades in the work program to qualify for return to a full-time academic program.

Third level

At this level the boy would leave school for a full-time job. He would no longer be under close school supervision, since he would be past school-leaving age. But the work supervisor would keep the line of communication open and would help the boy get a first job and then new jobs. If there was a continuation school or evening high school program, the boy would be encouraged to take part in it.

Community cooperation

This program would require community understanding and cooperation. Businessmen, industrial employers, and labor unions would have to understand it and try to assist it. The school system would have to operate a job-finding service and would depend on people in the community to supply jobs. Probably a community advisory committee would be necessary.

Community leaders would have to establish a concept of work as a social good, like education and recreation, to which a person has a right. While learning to work, the boy may not be efficient enough to be profitable to the employer. Consequently, either the community or the employer should cover the difference between what he actually earns and what he is paid. Employers might take this on as a social responsibility, or the school might contribute to the boy's pay, so as to avoid imposing too heavy a burden on certain employers in a community where only a few employers would cooperate with the program.

Experimental design

It would be useful to have a few *experiments* made under carefully controlled conditions, together with a variety of *pilot projects* which might be tried out in various kinds of communities, ranging from big cities to small communities and rural counties. The principal need would be for a control group of boys equally vulnerable to delinquency but receiving no special education or work opportunity beyond what they find in the community under present conditions. An experiment should run for about 8 years, structured as follows:

1ST YEAR. Selecting and training of staff; screening of boys and setting up the experimental and control groups. Testing the boys. Formation of citizens advisory committees.

YEARS 2-7. Ages 13-18 for boys in the project. The work-study program in its three stages. Collection and analysis of data.

8TH YEAR. Write-up of the project.

A minimum of about 150 boys should be selected for the experimental group, with a matched control group of equal size. Some boys would move away and be lost to the project. Others would refuse to take part in the work-study plan, and would be treated as a subgroup, to be studied as the control group is studied.

In a small community or county the number of boys might not be sufficient to provide groups of this size out of a single age-cohort. This problem might be met by including a 2-year cohort of boys in the study, starting with one group in the seventh and eighth grades and putting some of the seventh graders into the work group during the second year of the experiment, when they would be in the eighth grade. Comparisons of the experimental and control groups should be based on:

Amount of delinquency
Regularity of school attendance
School dropout rate
Achievement in reading and arithmetic; general knowledge
A good measure of personal-social adjustment
A measure of attitudes toward school
A measure of self-concept and of vocational aspiration
A rating on job adjustment at the end of the experiment.

Cost of the project

The project would require a director and a research staff to collect and analyze data, in addition to the operating staff of work supervisors, coordinators, and counselors. The actual cost of the staff working with the boys should not be much greater than the cost of teaching these boys in a regular school, though it might be more expensive in the early years, while the staff learns its job.

Alternative program for girls

This paper has been deliberately restricted to the problem of delinquency among lower-class boys, but it is clear that the sociological sisters of these boys have analogous problems of growing up which may be as dangerous for society as the overt delinquency that is more characteristic of boys.

A similar experiment for girls would use the roles of wife and mother as the central ones for which to prepare the girls, with the work role as a minor element. It is well known that lower-class girls who are having difficulty in school are likely to quit school and get married. For example, in the study from which the delinquency figures have been quoted, 67 girls out of an age group of 218 dropped out of high school without graduating. Fifty-two of these girls were married by the age of 18, 6 of them before 16, and 21 while they were 16. Ratings of these marriages indicate that they were generally less successful than those of girls marrying later. Yet these girls, by marrying, were doing the one thing that was natural and sensible for girls in their situation. The following type of experiment might be tried as a means of making school more attractive and useful to this kind of girl and at the same time trying to prepare her better for marriage.

From about the eighth grade, girls who are obviously headed for leaving school early might be assigned to a woman teacher who is a combination of social worker and home economics teacher and who would expect to work with this group of girls for the next 4 or 5 years, whether or not they stayed in school.

The schoolwork of these girls would be organized around their needs as wives and future mothers—work in homemaking, child care, clothing, and personal grooming. They would have a modified program in English, science, and social studies under other teachers. They would be encouraged to get jobs as babysitters and might be excused from school half-day to work in their own homes, or those of other people, taking care of children and doing housework. This part-time work arrangement might come after they reached the age of 15 and would be supervised by the teacher.

The teacher would organize these girls into a social club, with parties and dances, and with incidental teaching in the social skills of dancing, entertaining, etc. The teacher would try to assume the roles of friend, confidante, club leader, and big sister to the girls. She would encourage them to come to her for counsel on such matters as choice of a boy friend, what to do about petting, whether to marry, etc.

When the girls reached the age of about 16, the meetings of the group would include club meetings at convenient times for those who had quit school, at convenient and acceptable places such as settlement houses, YWCA, Salvation Army, or churches, in case the girls did not wish to meet in school buildings.

As the girls grew older, they would have dances, parties to announce their engagements, showers for those about to be married and for those expecting babies. The group would give its members a source of emotional support when needed, would help those who were having difficulty with their marriages, and would tend to set up expectations of behavior for girls as teenagers and young wives and mothers that would reduce the dangers of sexual promiscuity on the one hand, and social isolation on the other.

The teacher or club leader might work with two groups of girls at a given time: a younger group of girls aged 13 to 16, under her direct supervision in school though they would have other teachers for some of their studies; and an older group aged 16 to 18 or 19, many of them out of school, whom she would see at evening or afternoon club meetings and in individual conferences.

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III

Existing and Projected Research on Reading In Relationship to Juvenile Delinquency

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IN A RECENT REPORT Professor Stern of Syracuse lamented the fact that in the delinquency field pet theories never seem to die. By pet theories he probably means "particularistic" theories which attribute delinquency to such disparate factors as working mothers, authoritarian fathers, broken homes, the decline of religious instruction in the home, lack of a place to play, and so on. Stern says (31):

> Each year thousands of words are written in happy requiem for the now conclusively demonstrated demise of an obviously antiquated position. But old thoughts neither die nor fade away in the study of juvenile delinquency. They simply get themselves reborn through the simple expedient of ignoring the documentary evidence of their earlier existencies.

Unfortunately, it is not always easy to differentiate between the pet theories which should have long since faded away and those that may enable us to help potential delinquents become constructive members of society.

It does seem clear to me that except among the more uninformed laymen "particularistic" theories have given way to more sophisticated ones, some of which emphasize social organization and cultural conditions, some of which emphasize family organization and family relationships, and some of which place the greatest emphasis on the individual's internal states and processes, his intrapsychic organization. It is generally recognized that a multitude of influences impinge on each individual; some push him toward, some away from behavior commonly labeled delinquent; that is, behavior which violates either middle-class codes, or legal codes, or both. Thus I will try to point out why and how reading disabilities are related to psychic processes which in turn are related to delinquency, but I will not tell you that an inability to read necessarily leads to delinquency. A specific disability should not be considered an entity in itself, apart from the total functioning of the individual.

In many ways it is difficult to talk about the connection between reading difficulties and delinquency because delinquency is not a diagnostic category. A member of a lower-class Negro gang may have little in common with a firebug from a middle-class suburban family. Meaningful research in this field must separate crimes against persons, such as assault and rape, from truancy. Property destruction, stealing, traffic violations, and sexual offenses are dissimilar crimes and may have very different meaning to the delinquents involved. There may be a world of difference between the shoplifter and the street fighter. Some delinquents are seeking excitement, others are proving their daring or their toughness, while still others are striking out in a malicious way at a world they hate. Thus types of crimes and reasons for committing them are meaningful variables which should not lightly be lumped together. For example, in our studies in Quincy, those who had been fined on a number of occasions for traffic violations but who had no other arrests, by and large, came from unbroken homes with many middle-class values. They usually had low grades in high school but remained there for at least 3 years, although a number did not graduate. It seemed as though their parents could force them to stay in school, but could not force them to use their abilities to the fullest. Most of these youngsters were quite different from the lower-class youngster who left school on his 16th birthday after repeated truancies and who was subsequently caught burglarizing a grocery store with some of his buddies. This boy in turn had little in common with a boy whose delinquent acts all centered around his desire to get even with his foster mother.

As Kvaraceus has pointed out, what is considered delinquent in one group is not necessarily so considered in another (18). In fact, Goldman after studying the behavior of arresting officers, suggests that the policeman's interpretation of the life circumstances of the child caught in an unlawful act may well be a more significant factor influencing his actions than the magnitude of the offense. (12). Rosengren has shown that school janitors and police officers often disagree on whether or not a hostile provocative first offender should be taken into court (29). What is appropriate action for one child is not necessarily appropriate for the next child committing the same offense.

Out of this rule-of-thumb knowledge have come various attempts to subdivide delinquents into more meaningful categories for both treatment and research purposes. For example, Beck speaks of the social, the asocial, the neurotic, the organic, and the accidental delinquents. Psychiatrists and psychologists working in guidance clinics with a middle-class clientele may see quite different youngsters than those seen by an area project worker on Chicago's South Side. It is important that generalizations not be made from one type of delinquent to all delinquents.

In delinquency as in other complex human behavior it seems evident that no one factor can explain why a particular individual commits a certain act. Delinquency, no matter how we define it, is caused by a multiplicity of factors. These patterns of factors vary from individual to individual, and the significance of a given factor for two individuals may be quite different and produce different behavior. Correlational research may point up high risk groups and may suggest fruitful areas for action programs aimed at prevention or cure; yet for maximum effectiveness, there is no substitute for study of the individual delinquent, his problems, his actions, and his goals in life.

Adolescents face situations in which the appropriate behavior is not always readily apparent. When any decision is made, rewards and punishments lie in both directions. Conflicting patterns of behavior are sanctioned or disapproved by various age groups, races, social classes, and nationalities. Many of the norms of certain groups are not sanctioned by the power possessing groups; consequently, those who persist in following these norms will be punished. Some such behavior will be labeled socially unacceptable, some delinquent. Delinquent behavior will be most attractive to those who cannot hope to reach socially acceptable goals. Those who are unsuccessful in school form one such group.

There are hundreds of recent journal articles and dozens of books on delinquency, and as early as 1945 Betts listed 8,278 references in the professional literature on reading-related topics (2). Nevertheless remarkably little has been written on the connection between the two. There are practically no research studies which go beyond the commonly accepted view that delinquents are usually severely retarded in reading. Action programs to prevent delinquency or to treat delinquents, even those which stress interagency coordination, usually do not include the school in a meaningful way, and there are very few research projects aimed at preventing delinquency through insuring success in school.

THE DELINQUENT AND THE SCHOOL

In our society schools have two principal functions: first, to pass on in the most efficient manner possible the knowledge and traditions of our society; and second, to participate constructively in the personal development of the child. That is, the school is seen as responsible not only for informing the child but for forming him as well. Practically everyone pays lipservice to the realization that, particularly for the neglected or the rejected child, our emphasis must be placed on the person taught and his needs, not on the subject taught. "But," teachers say, "I don't have time for home visits. After all, I have 30 other children to worry about, and we have only one set of textbooks." Therefore, the ideal of individualizing instruction on the basis of the child's needs, interests, and ability usually is not implemented. There is also a growing realization that many cases of reading disability as well as truancy and other infractions of the school's rules are to be expected indicators that either the home, the school, or both are failing to meet the child's fundamental needs.

Perhaps a few Pollyannas still think that every child is good at something and all the school has to do is to find that something and build on it; but if a child cannot read, he cannot succeed in school, as it is presently constituted. Being good at drawing airplanes and being good at reading are about as equal as the equal contribution to a beef and rabbit stew of one rabbit and one steer. The ability to read is essential to success in almost every subject in the curriculum, including many courses not generally thought to be academic.

A number of research studies have demonstrated that low socioeconomic status, low scores on IQ tests, reading retardation, truancy, early school leaving, and delinquency all show a strong correlational tendency (11, 16). The delinquent child is usually handicapped not on one or two, but generally on seven or eight counts.

There is considerable agreement that the intelligence test scores of delinquents average in the neighborhood of 90, with higher scores on the performance than the verbal sections. This places the delinquent population, on the average, somewhat on the low side, but large numbers of delinquents have above average scores, and a majority have normal intelligence (11). Wattenberg in a study of approximately 1,000 delinquents in Detroit found that slightly over half had IQ scores in the bottom 20 percent of the distribution (33). In our studies in Quincy, Illinois, a Midwestern city of 45,000, we had similar findings. When IQ tests were given to the teenagers who were delinquent or later became delinquent, more than four-fifths had below average scores. But the scores of these individuals on IQ tests given in grade school were more nearly normal. The measured IQ's of delinquents tend to go down with age; intelligence

> There is, however, reason to believe that most children are sensitive to some degree about the attitudes of any persons with whom they are thrown into more than the most superficial kind of contact. The contempt or indifference of others, particularly those like schoolmates and teachers, with whom we are constrained to associate for long hours every day, is difficult, we suggest, to throw off. In this kind of situation the child may attempt to change himself in conformity with the expectations of his teachers and his peers, or he may say that he does not care what those people think and react in anger and aggression. It is hard to be indifferent. (5, p. 123)

During their grade-school years most of the children in Quincy who later became delinquents attended grade schools housing very few middle-class children. Nevertheless, for the most part, they were not highly valued by their teachers and classmates, at least in the school setting. Eighty-seven percent of the predelinquents had below average leadership scores as measured by responses to items such as: Who are the popular boys and girls? Who has ideas for interesting things to do?

The difficulties of the predelinquent group in learning to read may well have had quite a bit to do with their being fringers or isolates in the grade school peer structure, which in turn probably has much to do with the character of delinquent culture as nonutilitarian, malicious, negativistic, hedonistic, and as emphasizing group autonomy as opposed to loyalty to the larger society. Our findings in Quincy that seven-eighths of the predelinquents had below average leadership scores in grade school should be checked in other types of communities, and the relationship between leadership as seen in the school setting and as seen in the neighborhood should be studied.

Cohen in writing of the strong negativistic, nonutilitarian quality found in much juvenile crime feels that it comes from the delinquent's attempt to form an antisociety society. He suggests that delinquents set up this antisociety world because they have been defeated in the larger society, including the school, and see no hope of "making the grade" there. He says, "In the low levels of our status hierarchies, whether adult or juvenile, there is a chronic fund of motivation, conscious or repressed, to elevate one's status position, either by striving to climb within the established status system or by redefining the criteria of status so that one's present attributes become status-giving assets." (5, p. 122)

For years there has been debate as to whether school prevents or promotes delinquency. Those who feel that it promotes delinquency point out that since a child spends a considerable proportion of his time in school, the school cannot help but be a significant factor in his life. If school is a frustrating experience for the child, it naturally follows that he will become more prone to delinquency.

In 1945 Kvaraceus cited evidence to indicate that delinquency reached its peak in the hours immediately after school and dropped off during the summer months and on weekends. He concluded: "These data are believed strongly to support the contention that much delinquency is a reaction against the restraints and frustrations of the school." He states, "In general the school picture of the delinquent presents an unsatisfactory, unhappy, unsuccessful, and hence extremely frustrating situation which precedes or accompanies undesirable behavior. The delinquent group was found to differ significantly from the general school population in many of the factors studied." (17, p. 156) Wattenberg's study in Detroit led to similar conclusions (33).

School people sometimes contend, on the other hand, that during the child's most formative years the school has no contact with the child, and even during the years 6 through 15 a child spends only 20 percent of his waking hours in the classroom; his family and the street still have 80 percent of his time. They say delinquency is greatest right after school, when all the children are unsupervised and on the street. Knowing this, the police are unusually alert at these times. Furthermore, as Samuel Brownell pointed out when he was U. S. Commissioner of Education, in this country 60 percent of the 8-17 year old delinquents in 1952 were no longer enrolled in school, including 95 percent of the 17-year-old delinquents, 85 percent of the 16-year-olds, 50 percent of the 15-year-olds, and almost 35 percent of the 14-year-old delinquents (4).

Arguing back and forth in this manner does not point the way to action programs. While I would not dispute the fact that the home and the street are extremely important influences on the child's life, I find myself in agreement with Brownell's statement:

> We feel that if children can be kept in schools which foster their success and adjustment, one of the springs supplying the stream of delinquency will tend to dry up. . . . If you ask how schools contribute to delinquency I would say that some school conditions frustrate some pupils or set up situations causing delinquencies; others fail to supply an interest, a release of tensions, or a sense of security or satisfaction that children need. These failures may result in delinquency as surely as failure to provide reading opportunities results in many children being unable to read. (4)

While most school systems almost never accelerate a gifted child because they feel that he will not fit in socially with those who are older chronologically, most of these same systems practice retention, or as the students more realistically call it, failure. Consequently many, if not most, children who subsequently become delinquent find themselves in classroom groups in which they are different from most of the group chronologically, in achievement, and in mental age. Schools compromise between chronological age and achievement in academic subjects. As a result the delinquent is usually in a class with younger children whose achievement level is higher than his own. He fits in neither socially nor intellectually. In the light of modern psychological and psychiatric studies of motivation, one may reasonably ask whether a prescribed educational policy or disciplinary measure does not sometimes reflect more of the emotional background of the one who orders it than any real consideration of what the effects on the child will be. We need research on the effects of these educational policy decisions on children of various types; then we should use the results of this research in our subsequent actions.

The social or the antisocial delinquent cares as much about his reputation, about his status with those who are significant in his life, as you and I do. Middle-class teachers are often heard to complain that delinquents don't care what others think of their actions. Nothing could be further from the fact. What the teacher means is that failing to be accepted by the larger society, particularly in that agent of the larger society, the school, some children turn their backs on most of the adult world and start acting for a different audience.

In the CBS documentary, "The Killing of Michael Farmer," a group of teenagers in New York City kicked and stabbed to death a boy they did not know—a boy who had done them no harm. I was impressed with the fact that many of the boys involved in this killing saw kicking or stabbing this boy as important to them. They had to do it to build up their self-picture, to establish a "rep," as they termed it.

Everyone wants to be somebody, and if it is not possible to be well thought of for our lovable qualities, many of us will settle for being a famous s.o.b. As Edgar Friendenberg so aptly points out in his book, *The Vanishing Adolescent,* adolescents are particularly concerned with competence. Their principal task is self definition. "Adolescence is the period during which a young person learns who he is, and what he really feels. It is the time during which he differentiates himself from his culture." (10, p. 9) The teenager wants to be a competent athlete, a competent scholar, a competent dancer, a competent lover, or even a competent street fighter. He will work hard to be expert at something. When we say that adolescents aren't interested in anything or that they are lazy, what we really mean is that we disagree with them on the area in which it is important to be competent.

I might summarize this section by using the words of Healy and Bronner, "In the main, the immediate precipitating cause of delinquent behavior is in the emotional life of the delinquent: in his feeling about himself, his conditions and circumstances. Though he is usually unable to phrase his discontent, he is nevertheless an unsatisfied individual. The really satisfied youngster is not delinquent. Delinquency is a reactive, impulsive endeavor to find direct or indirect substitutive satisfactions for natural urges." Many adolescents denied the opportunity to succeed in school will try to become successful delinquents.

Reading and delinquency

While there has been little attempt to prove causality, the relationship between delinquency and reading is well known and is backed by research evidence. While Fabian and Traxler independently indicate that approximately 10 percent of the school population suffers from reading disability, Fabian found that 83 percent of a sample of delinquent and predelinquent children had reading disabilities (9, 32). Roman reports that 84 percent of the cases carried by the Treatment Clinic of the Manhattan Children's Court were severely retarded in reading (28). Harrower, reporting on a study of juvenile first offenders, indicated that 76 percent of the children were retarded by 2 or more years in reading and almost 40 percent were 5 or more years retarded (14). While we must be very careful not to move glibly from correlation to implied causation, the connection between reading disability and retardation in other aspects of the curriculum is often causal, and a snowballing effect between reading retardation and delinquency is not hard to visualize.

While I am now going to talk about curriculum modifications as a means of combating the reading problems of potential or actual delinquents, I want to state clearly that I realize, in the words of Dean Lawrence Haskew, "the curriculum is what happens when the teacher shuts the door," no matter what the syllabus says. A positive and supporting pupil-teacher relationship is important for every child but is apt to be especially so for those who have reading difficulties, whatever the root of the problem. As Kvaraceus says, "It is through the teacher that the educational plan is implemented and becomes meaningful. It is through the teacher that changes, in part, have to be made as the result of continuing diagnoses. It may be through the teacher that short-term or limited goals succeed or fail." (19, p. 13)

It followed naturally from the research linking psychosocial adjustment and the reading process that if there were specific psychological and sociological bases for reading difficulties, it would seem wise to treat reading retardation therapeutically. Bills, Axline, Ephron, and others used individual and group therapy with retarded readers in research studies (1, 3, 8). Although their research populations were often small, they proved, at least to the researcher's satisfaction, that if a child had emotional problems, therapeutic help often enabled him to make more rapid progress in reading. The idea behind this intervention was that once freed of emotional tensions, the child's conception of himself and his world would become more positive in tone, and reality pressures would move him toward greater accomplishment in reading. These reality pressures are probably stronger for the middle-class child, and perhaps, at least in part, the success of these therapists may have been due to the fact that they were dealing with children whose problem was one of psychological disturbance rather than cultural deprivation or physiological handicap.

I think most people would agree with Hardwick on the need for accurate diagnosis in order to choose the most appropriate treatment approach (13). She states that if the personality problems of the child are basic to the reading disability, emotional problems must be treated before we can expect any improvement in reading. If, however, the emotional problems are secondary and are side effects of the reading disability, the emotional problems will not be resolved until the reading disability is first corrected.

Roman reports that Fisher studied the effectiveness of group therapy as a means of correcting reading retardation with 30 residents of the Children's Village, an institution for delinquent children (28). The children were divided into 3 groups equated for reading achievement and intelligence. The results of his study indicate that his "pure" therapy group made greater improvement in reading than the nontherapy group. It was concluded that meeting the emotional needs of children who have a disability is an important factor in the correction of reading retardation. Fisher in discussing his results suggests that the group which received psychotherapy and remedial reading had negative attitudes toward the remedial teacher. These were not dealt with therapeutically, thus accounting for this group's lack of progress.

This points to one of the difficulties with the limited research carried out in this field. With a sample of 10 children in each group, one or two atypical children or an atypical teacher can give the experiment misleading results. The same criticisms can be leveled at a small project I carried out, and at Roman's study.

Roman studied the relative value of group remedial reading, group therapy, and tutorial group therapy in the treatment of reading retardation in a group of 13- to 16-year-old delinquents from the Manhattan Children's Court (28). Roman's 21 socially and emotionally deprived, antisocial, aggressive boys had IQ's ranging from 65 to 95. All were retarded in reading in excess of 2 years below what would be expected on the basis of their mental age. Roman himself treated each of the groups.

One group was given a program of reading instruction in a group setting geared to the correction of each individual's disabilities. Although the teacher was more permissive than most teachers probably would be, non-task-oriented discussions were discouraged.

In the group-therapy group, the aims and procedures were directed toward improving the mental health of members of the group.

In the tutorial-group therapy, the procedures were directed toward the simultaneous correction of reading disabilities and improvement of mental health. The therapist seemed more interested in the members of the group than in their ability to read or learn, and he talked with them about their home problems, their insecurity about girls, etc. He also showed them that he was interested in helping them with their reading if they desired help; that he was sure they could improve, and that he had the skills needed to help them in their reading. Thus a kind of balanced oscillation was achieved between problem solving in reading and a therapeutic discussion of problems.

Pre- and post-measures of reading disability and psychosocial adjustment as measured by several clinical instruments showed that the tutorial group evidenced the greatest positive change in psychosocial adjustment and the greatest improvement in reading. The group which had group therapy with no remedial work improved more on the personality level than did the remedial reading group and did almost as well in reading gain. Roman concludes that remedial reading programs which are not therapeutically oriented will usually fail with delinquents, since learning depends on the cooperation of a "reasonable ego," which most delinquents don't have. A pronounced change from the traumatic school situation is needed with delinquents to bring about the positive relationship with the teacher and the program, without which remediation is not possible. This and the rather similar research of Fisher deserve to be studied on a much more extensive basis.

As part of our Quincy study we set up a special program at the ninth-grade level for nonachieving children with IQ's of 75-90 (20, 24). The program was aimed at helping these 40 children become more successful and more satisfied in school. As a group, they were retarded an average of 2½ years in reading. All but three had below average scores on the California Psychological Inventory, a measure of personal adjustment; 20 percent already were known to the police, and many more were attendance or disciplinary problems at school. Our aim was to provide a sustained contact with teachers who were genuinely interested in them, instruction in reading and in oral and written communication aimed at preparing them for work and family life, an informal classroom atmosphere aimed at encouraging participation, and the use of a wide variety of learning experiences, many with nonacademic connotations. We used experiences such as field trips to local industries, dramatics, role playing, job interviews, movies, discussions on mental health topics, a part-time work program, and ordering from mailorder catalogs, in addition to more conventional approaches. We planned opportunities to help students with personal and social problems through group activities and discussions.

The results of this experiment were encouraging, but not spectacular. As compared with a control group receiving no special attention, members of the experimental group were absent only half as often in the ninth and tenth grades. About 35 percent of the experimental group and 14 percent of the control group subsequently graduated from high school. While the control group more than doubled its delinquencies as measured by a modification of the Cambridge-Somerville Seriousness Index (25), the experimental group got into somewhat less trouble with the law during the experimental period than they had previously. On the other hand, both groups improved equally in their adjustment scores on the California Psychological Inventory, and both made equally slow improvement in reading and in other skills as measured by standardized tests. Thus the program seemed to produce a significant decrease in antisocial behavior and an improvement in attitudes toward the school, without significantly increasing the rate of learning in reading. In effect we seemed to be fairly successful in getting these children to compete with their own previous level of achievement instead of having a grade standard. This increased their satisfaction with school, helped them see themselves and others in a more positive light, and consequently reduced their need to be antisocial.

These findings led us to try a prevention program in the primary grades in the hope that we could affect reading progress as well as personality factors by beginning earlier. After several years of work with children and parents in a special classroom for unsuccessful first graders (21), we are launching an action-research program this fall at the kindergarten level in four lower-class grade schools. This program will be aimed at the prevention of reading problems, school behavior problems, truancy, and delinquency. We will employ an enrichment program in an upgraded primary setting. During a lengthened kindergarten day, we plan to have the school play more of the roles usually played by upper middle-class parents. More time will be spent reading and talking with the children. We will take many field trips and will try to provide at least one adult for every five children, so that children can ask questions and talk while they are seeing, rather than staring in blank amazement at something they don't understand. More time will be spent on dramatics, fingerpainting, and other expressive activities. Children will not be introduced to formal reading until they have a strong interest and seem ready to be successful. At the ungraded primary level, each child will work at his own speed without fear of failure. At present these schools employ the so-called Joplin Plan, i.e., even when he leaves the primary grades, a child will read with children at his own achievement level. We hope to help these children gain a larger number of concepts on which to draw in their reading, pleasant interpersonal experiences associated with reading, and a chance to work at their own level without fear of failure.

We also plan to work with the parents. Although we will initially contact them about our interest in helping their children get the best possible education, we hope to demonstrate that we are genuinely interested in them as persons and will be willing to do what we can to help them find work or resolve a marital problem, for example, as well as talk with them about the importance of hearing their children read aloud.

In order to make our findings more applicable to other groups, the following safeguards will be built into the design. Similar safeguards should be in other research in this field. In addition to the 150 children in the experimental group, there will be an equivalent control group. With groups of this size a few atypical children will not distort the results. At least eight teachers will be involved, so that we will not be merely measuring the effects of a particular teacher's personality. The action program will last 4 years, because short-term programs cannot be expected to have lasting results. In addition to an evaluation a year afterwards, followups are planned at two subsequent 5-year periods, so that we can see whether the experiment has the desired long-range effects on school achievement and delinquency. A study of this type would not be feasible in a community with a highly transient population, but many of our smaller cities have relatively permanent populations. Much of the value of Terman's study of the gifted arises from the fact that he was able to follow his students into early and middle adulthood. Followup studies may not be glamorous, but they can be very valuable.

An exciting project which is only incompletely reported in the literature has been going on for the past 4 years at Public School 183 in New York City (7). Here in a predominately Negro and Puerto Rican community with practically no community resources, a family agency and the school have been working with 60 children in the intermediate grades and their parents. This program is aimed at enriching the lives of underachieving children through education.

The school personnel and the social workers approached the children and parents not as problems to be solved, but rather as people to be understood and helped. They went to the parents saying, "We want to give your child every possible advantage. We want to help him use his abilities to the fullest. If you see anything that might stand in his way, we'd like to help you eliminate the problem." They interviewed the parents, spotted the natural leaders, and seriously began working toward having parents take the responsibility for making decisions as well as doing much of the busy work such as calling other parents to arrange for physical examinations. Parents who had hesitated to take their children on trips to the docks or to museums alone found that once they had gone on a few trips as escorts with the teacher, two or three of the parents going together would take the responsibility for trips with their children.

Groups met in parents' homes at night to discuss how to help the children with their reading, to talk about problems the parents faced in their own lives, or to talk about the next field trip so that parents could later discuss the trip intelligently with their children. Some parents played the role of teachers' aids, and some even went to local merchants to raise money to carry on the project's activities. Volunteers from outside the community sometimes helped in Saturday School activities, served as escorts, or taught an advanced reading group under the direction of the teacher.

Although these parents had been the type whose lives were more often based on averting trouble than on gaining positive pleasure through self expression, and although in the past they did not express appreciation and affection toward each other or toward their children, they were able to grow in this atmosphere, and as they grew their children's achievement improved. I strongly suspect that the delinquency proneness of the children in the project decreased significantly.

This project illustrates many of the research limitations which hamper progress in this field. I hope that the results will be published, but I doubt that they will. I hope that the promising aspects of the program will be tried elsewhere, but the chances are that they will not be, at least not on any large scale.

Unfortunately, this study did not include a control group or even demographic data on the neighborhood; therefore, the results cannot be compared with what would have happened to the children had there been no project. The project staff was enthusiastic. They learned a lot and could probably do a more efficient job a second time. However, most of the staff involved has already left the project and the community; it is unlikely that anyone will ever adequately report the work done, since few persons not on the staff watched the project closely enough to properly evaluate it, or learn much from it. This research was carried on by a family agency and a school system. Very few school systems see themselves as research agencies, and practically no social agencies feel that they can spend money for nonservice activities such as research. Neither agency is likely to spend the money necessary to write up the project so that other communities can learn from their successes and their mistakes. A control group was not part of the design, and it is unlikely that a long-term followup will take place. Most of what was there to be learned has been lost.

Another interesting project is aimed at giving children a good start in school so that they will not be likely to become reading problems, dropouts, and delinquents. Susan Gray and Ray Norris at George Peabody College have been experimenting, in a small controlled study, with developing achievement motivation in culturally deprived 5-year-olds. In a 10-week summer school program for twenty 5-year-olds, a teacher and four assistants worked on remediating the effects of cultural deprivation through an enrichment program. They are now evaluating the experience of these children in the first grade as compared with a control group.

In New York City a program has been set up to convert gifted underachievers into achievers using therapy, remedial services, parent groups, intensified guidance services, weekend camping, etc. Tutoring was reported to be one of the least effective methods of improving school achievement; therapeutic orientation would seem to be necessary. According to a report, "One approach proved almost too effective: in a motivational group of 10 students, 9 showed improved grades for the current semester. Some members of the group beat up the lagging member. Thus there was improvement in achievement, accompanied by an increase in delinquent behavior." (19, p. 2-26)

Before suggesting further areas for research, I would like to summarize what we think we know about reading and delinquency.

1. Delinquency is not a single diagnostic category and should be subdivided for research purposes and probably for action programs as well.
2. The causes of delinquency are multiple and complex. Reading disability is one serious symptom of something wrong in a child's life. In time, reading disability probably becomes a factor leading toward delinquent behavior.
3. Children of low ability and/or cultural handicaps must be able to succeed in school and must be recognized for their achievement if we do not want to create in them attitudes leading toward delinquent behavior.
4. By the time children are declared delinquent, 60 percent are no longer in school and most of the others probably cannot be reached by a remedial program alone.
5. Remedial programs aimed at the rehabilitation of those with reading disabilities or aimed at the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents must combine remediation with a therapeutic orientation unless there is clear evidence that a given child is not psychologically disturbed.
6. It would seem that any program aimed at preventing delinquency through providing a child with a successful experience in reading must begin before adolescence for maximum effectiveness. However, there is evidence to indicate that both reading skills and delinquent behavior can be influenced by intensive remedial and therapeutic programs even as late as adolescence. There is some indication that a revised school program can affect delinquency rates.

There are so many unanswered questions in the area of reading and juvenile delinquency that the research evidence is sketchy even for the few things listed as known. About all we really know is that most delinquents cannot read; that a child who cannot read and must attend school has a serious mental health problem; and that very few systematic efforts have been made to reach delinquents through reading. In fact, Witmer and Tufts in writing the interesting pamphlet, *The Effectiveness of Delinquency Prevention Programs,* mentioned the word reading exactly once in 50 pages (35). This pamphlet evaluates many programs for improving the environment through recreation, group work, and improving the neighborhood. They discuss aggressive casework, working with gangs, the child guidance clinic approach, the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, and other educational and therapeutic programs, all without mentioning reading except in one phrase.

The following are a few of the many questions to which we need answers:

What would be the results of giving younger lower-class children immediate rewards for various types of reading achievement?

What actions and reactions of teachers facilitate or discourage a child from attempting something new?

Under what circumstances should we abandon our attempt to remediate children's reading disabilities, and turn to some other area in our effort to help children find satisfactions?

In what ways does retention affect the motivation of a delinquency-prone child?

Ralph Schwitzgebel has been experimenting with the rehabilitation of delinquents by paying them by the hour to dictate their biographies (30). At first they are paid immediately as soon as they finish dictating, but gradually they are paid only if they learn to keep scheduled appointments. Meaningful reinforcement for responsible behavior seems to make a difference in subsequent recidivism. What would happen if we gave young children immediate rewards, such as candy, for improvements in accomplishment in school? What would be the result of the teacher's consciously attempting to give children more verbal rewards for reading achievement? It is my observation that parents of high achievers are generous with praise of their children's attempts, while other parents and some teachers offer little more than the absence of punishment as a reward. What is the effect on children's accomplishment in reading, on their feelings about themselves, on delinquency-proneness? Does coming to school with an empty stomach impede learning? Would the reading of culturally deprived children improve significantly if the school provided breakfast and lunch at school, thus insuring them of a proper diet?

If research studies of children in classes for the mentally handicapped showed that such children, having lowered their sights on reading, get along as well as or better than children with higher IQ's in regular classes, could we set up criteria for deciding when a child can no longer benefit from a program aimed at correcting a reading disability?

Since it seems that school failure leads to psychological disturbance, and that those who fail in school seldom increase their subsequent rate of learning to read, would a controlled study of the ungraded primary idea be fruitful? One of the problems of the delinquent is that often he has difficulty forming significant relationships with adults. Might it be a good idea to leave predelinquent children with the same teacher for several years, as is usually done in an ungraded primary school, to give a child time to form a close relationship and thus make identification with the teacher possible? Should a delinquency-prone adolescent be with one teacher for most of the day rather than have a half-dozen teachers, none of whom knows him and his problems well?

Before the child comes to school, most of his tasks are self chosen. He decides whether or not to take a step, to put the clothespin in the bottle, or whether it is safe to jump off the chair. At school most of the child's tasks are teacher chosen. What would happen if we left more of the choice to the children? What actions and reactions on the part of the teacher facilitate a child's attempting something new? How can we help children to be more willing to risk failure? It seems that in most circumstances, a certain amount of emotional support is needed to risk failure, and unless one is willing to risk failure, learning is seriously inhibited. What would delinquency-prone youngsters be interested in learning more about? Would they read more if they could choose their reading materials?

We need to study more carefully the interrelationship between the personalities of the pupil and the teacher. Some teachers give a slow or a lower-class child a good feeling about himself. Do such teachers teach children more? Does their behavior significantly affect the chances that a child will become a good reader, or a delinquent?

The field for study of reading in relation to the prevention of delinquency is wide open; little significant work has been done. Although correlational studies have some value, controlled experimental work aimed at prevention and treatment is even more important. Except for pilot projects, control groups are usually necessary, and the number of teachers and pupils must be large enough to prevent an accidental factor such as a teacher's personality from unduly influencing the results.

Whatever studies are attempted should last long enough to give some chance for success. The world's best 6-week reading readiness program cannot be expected to make up for 6 years of emotional, physical, and intellectual deprivation. Any worthwhile study deserves careful evaluation, including followup evaluation a year or more later. Time and money for adequate evaluation and write-up are necessary in order to learn all there is to learn in any experiment, as well as to communicate the results to others who might be interested.

Since the reasons for norm-violating behavior differ from child to child, most studies will do well to differentiate among the varying types of delinquents. Also, the delinquent in the small town or city is somewhat different from the gang members in the big city. It is important to avoid overgeneralizing from our research. Most important of all we must become more careful observers of children. We must begin to think about and talk about reading and delinquency, and the possible connection between the two. If we can get teachers to take a scientific interest in what they are doing, and can get them to communicate what they think they have learned in the classroom, education and educational research will become an exciting field. If we can do this, I am convinced that in a generation we will have less reading retardation and less juvenile delinquency.

DISCUSSION

Dr. Wattenberg called attention to the status-conferring function of the school and suggested that when a teacher, regarded as a high-status person, took an interest in a child, the implication that the child would amount to something had a powerful effect on both the child and his parents. Such interest might change the opinion people have of themselves, for at this level they often feel defeated and worthless.

In a discussion of reading ability, Dr. Liddle said he thought it should not be predetermined on the basis of an IQ or reading score that a child would not be anything but a failure in school. The child with a low IQ was told, in effect, that he would never be a success in this system. It was perhaps because the expectations and the evaluation criteria were relaxed in special classes for the mentally retarded that many of them were reading at a higher level than the so-called slow learner group.

Dr. Wineman mentioned that although the children at his camp were in general poor readers or could not read, reading to them at bedtime was a surprisingly successful feature of the camp program.

Dr. Liddle discussed a program that would involve four predominantly lower-class grade schools and would take children from kindergarten through the first three grades. Although for research purposes they would try to identify the children from less adequate families, they would work with all the children. The program would offer certain experiences that other families would ordinarily provide for their children—opportunities for the children to manipulate things, or possibly watch things grow by having a garden, or take care of a pet or engage in dramatic play or be read to—perhaps in a longer day or a different kind of school day. He had noticed that although many of the children from these culturally deprived neighborhoods would not speak out in ordinary classrooms when they did not know about things they thought everyone else knew, in a protected environment they liked to express their feelings about practical matters related to their lives. This special program would involve considerably more contact with parents than the schools have at present.

There was considerable discussion of the age at which the school should first come in contact with the culturally handicapped child. There had been some evidence that the schools could offset the deprivation by extending the range of contact with the child from age 3 to 6, and that kindergarten programs could help to prevent delinquency, although most programs concerned adolescents because they were the most trouble. Through legislation in a number of States, 3-year-olds have become a part of the public school system, and early school influence could be useful with this type of child. For example, a Community Chest nursery school for lower-class working mothers gave children the enrichment experiences they needed and a certain amount of mothering, and consequently they did well in grade school.

It was pointed out that there might be a gap between programs for the children in early elementary school and the work-school programs proposed for age 13 on, and that perhaps there should be an intermediate grade program to provide remedial work at the fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade levels. It was suggested that teachers of these grades should be involved in the earlier program by accompanying children on excursions or otherwise sharing in their activities. One of the participants mentioned the possibility that even a noonday lunch at school might be therapeutic in giving the child a relationship to the teacher as a mother-figure, since many of the children suffered from emotional as well as cultural deprivation

Dr. Wattenberg suggested that extending the program to a larger unit might be much more fruitful than limiting it to just the kindergarten and the first two or three grades, even though it might be impossible in the end to determine what was done only in those grades. A research design that approximates the one-thing-at-a-time principle may truncate a study that really should concern a larger system of changes, and the assumption that only one variable is involved may distort the use of that variable by depriving it of what should be the supports in its system. Experts in such areas as economics now seem to be comparing systems rather than variables. Although the research study might concentrate on certain grades, it would be interesting to see what would happen if the whole school staff shared in the program.

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IV

The Prevention of Delinquent Subcultures: *Issues and Problems*

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DELINQUENCY has many forms. In this paper, I shall be concerned solely with delinquent subcultures—that is, with groups in which some type of law-violating activity is required in the performance of group roles. It is not the commission of collective delinquent acts that distinguishes the delinquent subculture from other groups; this definition excludes the many groups that occasionally commit collective delinquencies but do not construe such activities as required forms of role behavior (4). I shall also limit my remarks to delinquent subcultures composed of lower-class, adolescent males.

There appear to be three more or less distinct types of delinquent subculture among male adolescents in the slums of large urban areas. One is essentially a "criminal subculture," a type of gang devoted to theft, extortion, and other illegal methods of obtaining income. Another is the "conflict subculture," a type of gang in which the manipulation of violence predominates as a way of winning status. The third is the "retreatist subculture," a type of gang in which the consumption of drugs and other illicit experiences are stressed. Although these subcultures are rarely found in pure form, they generally exhibit sufficient differentiation to warrant being classified separately.

In this paper, I am concerned with some of the issues and problems which face us in trying to construct programs for the prevention of delinquent subcultures, and I shall try to identify some of the related problems calling for research. Unfortunately, there is little research to draw upon. Previous studies have generally focused on the individual delinquent or on particular types of delinquent act rather than on the delinquent subculture.

CHOICE OF TARGETS FOR ACTION

One of the first problems in constructing programs of prevention is to avoid the tendency to equate deviance indiscriminately with evil and conformity with good. Even if it were possible to completely eliminate deviance in all its varied forms, it is doubtful that this would be desirable. Deviant behavior is often functional for a society, contributing to the stability of existing institutional forms or exerting pressure for useful changes (3). In defining targets of action, then, we cannot simply disavow deviance and support conformity. Rather, we must systematically discriminate among various types of aberrant behavior on the basis of the social costs they exact and the positive functions they perform for the society. Resources for combatting deviance are always limited. In practice, then, choices among forms of deviance are implicit in every program of action. If we decide to devote our resources to modifying one type of deviance, then clearly we are saying that other forms are less dangerous to society. Unfortunately, such decisions sometimes rest upon premises that are of doubtful validity.

In the field of delinquency, for example, there seems to be much more public concern about conflict subcultures than about drug-using groups. Indeed, gang delinquency is equated in the public mind with conflict behavior; warfare in the streets has become the dominant symbol of lower-class adolescent male delinquency. The highly visible nature of conflict behavior may in part account for its notoriety. One may ask, however, whether the emphasis on conflict subcultures rather than on drug-using subcultures is realistic. Without examining systematically the various social costs and functions of these two forms of deviance, we may note that conflict behavior is invariably abandoned with approaching adulthood, whereas drug use often persists throughout adult life. Furthermore, offenses against property and persons are committed with greater frequency by members of drug-using groups than by members of conflict gangs, for drugs are so expensive that the addict usually turns to crime as a source of funds.[1] Addiction also has more negative consequences for family life and for educational and occupational stability than conflict behavior. Furthermore, drug use probably causes no fewer deaths among addicts than does conflict behavior among participants. In these and other ways, then, the current focus upon conflict behavior is open to question.

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[1] Police officials informally estimate that at least 50 percent of the property crimes committed by juveniles in New York City are related to drug use.

These definitions greatly influence the form and allocation of resources in the fight against delinquency. It is generally easier to obtain funds and to recruit personnel when the target is a conflict group rather than a drug-using group. Furthermore, social agencies are to some extent controlled by these definitions and thus are forced to allocate more of their resources to fight the conflict type than the retreatist type of delinquency. In many communities, for example, the settlement house is severely criticized if it fails to stem violence among the young but is not nearly so likely to be blamed if rates of addiction mount.

A second problem inherent in identifying targets for action has to do with what it is we want the deviant to become. Some definition of conformity is embedded in every program of action, but too often we have neglected to specify and justify our definitions. The term "conformity" does not refer to a single mode of behavior. In a society as complex as ours, conformity embraces a spectrum of behavior ranging from the prescribed to the tolerated. Just as we must discriminate among types of deviance, so we must discriminate among types of conformity. Our failure to do so has sometimes led us to espouse unduly restricted goals for the nonconformists we are seeking to change. In our work with lower-class delinquents, for example, many of us have acted as if the only acceptable outcome were the adoption of middle-class values and models, despite the fact that conforming with such models often precipitates intense conflict with persons in the delinquent's immediate social milieu.

Social research has a vital role to play in the process by which we make choices among alternative forms of deviance and alternative forms of conformity. We have yet to identify systematically the functions and dysfunctions of various modes of deviant behavior; hence we cannot rank types of aberrant behavior in terms of their relative costs and contributions to the social order. Similarly, we have yet to identify systematically the types of conformity which prevail in different sectors of the social structure (e.g., in different social-class groupings, ethnic groups, and the like); hence we are unable to make intelligent judgments about the appropriate goals toward which we might orient deviants who come from different segments of the social order. Here, then, are two areas in which research can help us to construct a more rational program of action.

REGULATING ACCESS TO LEGITIMATE ADAPTATIONS

What we do about a particular type of deviance depends, in part, on our assumptions about the forces that give rise to it. The theory of culture conflict, for example, states that delinquent groups arise either as a way of managing conflicting identifications resulting from the simultaneous internalization of two divergent cultural codes (14) or as a consequence of internalizing a cultural code which so deviates from the prevailing middle-class values that conformity with it creates tension and conflict (6, 8, 10). If we accept this theory in either form, then the school, depending on its approach, can either heighten the conflict or help young people develop skills in managing it. According to another theory delinquent subcultures are a response to barriers in the transition from adolescence to adulthood (1). Our society, according to this theory, encourages the young to want to achieve adult status but places obstacles in the way of their achieving this goal. The gang arises to perform the functions served by *rites de passage* in more ordered societies. This theory also has implications for the school; it suggests, for one thing, that the school may have to be reorganized in order to afford young people better channels of integration with adult roles. Still another theory suggests that delinquent gangs in our society arise in response to barriers to masculine identification among boys. These barriers are said to be particularly strong in female-centered households, such as those prevailing among lower-class Negroes. The delinquent group, which is said to arise by a process of reaction formation, represents a "protest" against the femininity of these households; it serves as a structure within which masculine modes of adaptation can be tested and adopted (9). This theory also has implications for education, for there is a tendency in many sectors of our society to regard the school and those who are successful in school as "unmasculine." Thus we might want to be concerned with the sex distribution in school faculties and the relative masculinity of the curriculum.

My own view of the origins of pressure toward delinquent subcultures stems principally from what I call, together with Lloyd E. Ohlin, the theory of differential opportunity systems (4). This theory states that deviance is a result of the systems of forces governing the accessibility of culturally approved goals by legitimate means (7) and by illegitimate means (2). Limitations on the accessibility of cultural goals by legitimate means are, in this theory, the principal source of pressures toward deviance; the relative accessibility of cultural goals by *illegitimate* means is the principal determinant of the *content* of the resulting deviant adaptation. In this section, I shall briefly discuss the availability of legitimate opportunity in our society and the pressures which it exerts toward deviance. In the next section, I shall consider illegitimate opportunity systems and their impact upon types of delinquent subculture. In both instances, implications for prevention will be noted.

Discrepancies between definitions of success-goals and access to opportunities for achieving these goals create great pressure for the emergence of delinquent subcultures. In Western democratic societies, people are universally enjoined to orient themselves toward making marked improvements in their social and economic position. The ideology of equality of opportunity buttresses these high aspirations and gives hope to the dispossessed that a better way of life can be achieved. Difficulties arise in the pursuit of this goal, however, because of the differential distribution of opportunities and resources for achievement. In other words, for many people there is no connection between the ends to which they orient themselves and the means at hand for achieving those ends. This disjunction is greater at some points in the social structure than at others. It appears, for example, that lower-class youngsters are at a disadvantage in the competitive struggle to improve their social and economic position by legitimate means. Access to higher educational facilities—one of the most widely sanctioned routes for upward mobility—is partly dependent upon economic resources. Even in the primary and secondary grades, it costs several hundred dollars a year to send a child to school, for he must have adequate clothes, transportation, lunches, and pocket money for extracurricular activities. Those in the lower strata of society therefore experience acute frustration, which may lead to delinquency among adolescents and other forms of deviance among adults.

I am not saying here that delinquent subcultures are a product of poverty. Quite the contrary: responses to poverty vary considerably, according to the way in which people define this state. In American society, poverty is defined as a temporary condition from which the individual can reasonably expect to rise. Channels of mobility are said to be available to every aspirant, regardless of his social origins. But when people find that such factors as socioeconomic background and racial affiliation *do* materially influence the possibility of becoming mobile, discontent and frustration result. It is not poverty as such that produces these frustrations but objective discrepancies between culturally induced aspirations and socially structured possibilities of achievement.

Coupled with objective differentials is the accessibility of success-goals, there are cultural patterns which hinder lower-class young people from making effective use of the opportunities they do have. It appears, for example, that academic skills are more closely integrated with middle-class than with lower-class socialization; the middle-class child is encouraged to develop verbal fluency, a capacity for deferred gratification, a sustained attention span, and other attributes which facilitate academic achievement. The result is that many lower-class young people eventually compare themselves invidiously with middle-class youngsters, who are more likely to succeed in school. Lower-class adolescents may subsequently become estranged from the school and join the ranks of the dropouts (11).

Members of the lower class are doubtless aware of the general importance assigned to education in our society and of the relationship between education and social mobility. But they are doubtless also very much aware of economic barriers in access to educational facilities. It is my view that social-class differences in the value placed on education in large part reflect objective differentials in the availability of educational opportunities. Educational attainment and related forms of goal-striving are eschewed not so much because they are inherently devalued as because access to them is relatively restricted. And once these adaptive patterns arise in a particular community, young people may be exposed to them directly and thus exhibit little interest in education from an early age.

Although I have been focusing upon *class* differentials in pressures toward deviant behavior, it should also be noted that these pressures affect males more than females and adolescents more than younger or older people. It is primarily the male who must go into the marketplace to seek employment, make a career for himself, and support a family. Adolescence is a time when preparation for these roles is greatest. The adolescent male in the lower class is therefore particularly vulnerable to pressures toward deviance arising from discrepancies between aspirations and opportunities for achievement. These pressures are especially acute among adolescents in slum communities, which are populated largely by adults who have themselves failed to become mobile. Delinquent subcultures represent specialized forms of adaptation to this problem of adjustment. The criminal and conflict subcultures provide illegal avenues to success-goals that are unavailable by legitimate means. The retreatist subculture is a loosely structured group of persons who have withdrawn from the competitive game, who anticipate defeat and seek escape from the burden of failure.

Some of the implications stemming from this theory seem clear. First, efforts must be made to expand the structure of legitimate opportunity for those segments of the population which now suffer from restrictions. Education in particular must be made more accessible regardless of race or socioeconomic status. We must also be concerned with the restrictions on access to skilled vocations. Perhaps we should re-examine our laws governing work among minors in order to permit lower-class adolescents to earn the money they need for future training. Methods of overcoming traditional adaptive responses to limited opportunity, such as apathy and hedonism, must also be found and put into effect. An approach involving both the provision of greater opportunity and the modification of adaptive, defeatist attitudes should have an important impact upon the problem of delinquent subcultures.

This theory implies, further, that we must be concerned with the social regulation of aspirations. The task is not, however, to persuade lower-class young people to lower their levels of aspiration but to induce them to join in efforts to expand legitimate opportunities for people in their social category as a whole. Excessive individualism has always been the greatest deterrent to the development among dispossessed groups of organized efforts to improve their lot in life, and the case of our lower classes certainly constitutes no exception. The task is one of demonstrating, as in the case of labor movements, that the likelihood of one's social advancement is partly dependent upon the elevation of the whole social category to which the individual belongs. But now I am intruding upon a subject which should more properly be discussed in connection with the special problem of social alienation and delinquent subcultures, one of the subjects to which I shall now turn.

Regulating Access to Illegitimate Adaptations

Pressures toward deviance can probably be reduced; however, it is doubtful that they can or should be completely eliminated. Stress between various parts of the society (i.e., between adolescent and adult, between different socioeconomic groups, etc.) is inherent in every society and often performs useful functions. Thus, the task of prevention is not simply to enlarge opportunities for legitimate adaptations but, as I shall now try to show, to restrict access to certain illegitimate adaptations as well. Most attempts to explain delinquency stop once the sources of pressure have been identified, and most programs of prevention are limited to trying to modify these forces. But the forces that lead people to violate social norms do not necessarily determine the *content* of the violations. A given problem of adjustment can have a variety of deviant outcomes. Thus one cannot predict the outcome of pressures toward deviance simply by identifying these pressures. New variables intervene to channel pressures toward deviance into one or another form of deviant behavior.

To illustrate this point, consider two people who occupy the same position in the social structure except that one is male and the other female. Despite the similarity in their positions, we would not ordinarily expect them to respond in the same way to equivalent problems of adjustment. Types of deviant behavior, like types of conforming behavior, are differentiated along a dimension of masculinity-femininity. Some forms of deviance, such as armed robbery, are characteristically masculine; others, such as prostitution, are characteristically feminine. We would consider it "inappropriate" for a female to become an armed robber or for a male to become a prostitute. When people become deviant, in other words, the selection of deviant adaptations is partly controlled cultural values. This, then, is one sense in which the social structure regulates the outcome of pressures toward deviance.[2]

The crucial regulatory function of the social structure has been overlooked not only in the development of etiological theories but in the construction of programs of action as well. Yet it represents an area of research which, in my opinion, is of paramount importance. To explain any form of deviance, we must know not only why pressures toward deviance arise but also why these pressures result in different outcomes throughout the social structure. And to prevent any form of deviance, we must not only reduce pressures toward deviance but also modify the social forces that channel these pressures into a given type of deviance.

Alienation and deviant behavior

One of the crucial ways in which the social structure regulates the outcome of pressures toward deviance is by influencing the actor's definition of his problems of adjustment. This is an important determinant of his response to these problems (4). Some persons who experience disjunction between their aspirations and the possibilities of achievement look outward, attributing their dilemma to unjust and arbitrary institutional practices, such as racial discrimination. Others look inward, attributing their difficulties to personal deficiencies, such as a lack of discipline, zeal, intelligence, or persistence. Whether the "failure" blames the social order or himself is of central importance to the understanding of delinquent conduct (if not of all forms of deviance), for the one form of attribution leads to alienation from the social order and the other to self-depreciation. Once he is alienated from conventional rules and ideologies, the deviant is free to experiment with illegitimate ways of securing access to success-goals—for example, searching for status through conflict behavior or for money through participation in groups organized for thievery.

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[2] For a further example of this regulatory influence see Cloward's discussion of inmate adaptations (3).

In our society, success and failure are explained in essentially individualistic terms. Success is formally attributed to ambition, perseverance, talent, and the like; failure, on the other hand, is said to result from a lack of these traits. In explaining occupational achievement or failure, we do not ordinarily refer to "life chances" or "objective opportunities"; we tend, rather, to ask whether people have made the most of their chances, whether they have been diligent, industrious, and imaginative in the pursuit of success-goals. This tendency to equate success with individual merit and failure with individual inferiority contributes to the stability of existing social arrangements by deflecting criticism from the institutional order. Those who attribute failure to their own shortcomings in effect accept the prevailing ideology of the society. They explain their adjustment problems on the basis of socially accepted criteria. Such persons are not at odds with society; on the contrary, self-blame is an important index of attitudinal conformity, for it is essentially an affirmation of the fairness and moral validity of the prevailing ideology. Individuals who explain failure in this way then have the problem of coping with the psychological consequences of regarding themselves as unworthy or inferior. It is unlikely, however, that they will join with others to develop collective solutions, for they see their adjustment problems as essentially personal.

Those who feel that they are victims of arbitrary institutional arrangements, however, are at odds with the social order. This alienation generates a great deal of tension in their dealings with the carriers of the dominant ideology, such as teachers, policemen, and judges. To some extent, tension can be relieved if alienated persons gain support from others who are in the same position and who share the view that their misfortunes are due to unjust social arrangements. Collective support can provide reassurance, security, and validation for a frame of reference toward which the world at large is hostile and disapproving.

If alienation is an important factor in the development of delinquent subcultures, then the implication for prevention is clear. Approaches to lower-class youth generally and to participants in delinquent subcultures particularly must entail a frank recognition of the objective barriers to opportunity which they face. Too often we act as if our object is to lead dissident adolescents to account for their circumstances by questioning their own adequacy rather than by questioning the adequacy of institutional arrangements. Indeed, this seems to be the implicit goal in many current clinical approaches to delinquent subcultures.[3] The tendency is to explore the motivations underlying the individual's membership in a deviant group, and to assess the ways in which he has learned to satisfy his needs through such deviant activity. The result, whether intended or not, is often to define the delinquent subculture as the product of individual maladjustment, without acknowledging the influence of the social order. The projected remedies are thus of a psychological nature, and the ideological and structural bases of the social order are left unchallenged.

I believe, however, that our approach to the management of delinquent subcultures would be much more successful if we did not so often focus upon personality issues to the exclusion of issues of social justice. Many participants in delinquent subcultures are bright and alert; they may be underachievers, poor readers, or school failures, but they are not lacking in basic intelligence. In Negro neighborhoods in large urban centers adolescents are aware not only that many legitimate economic channels are restricted or closed to them but that even the various stable illegitimate economic channels (e.g., the "rackets") are controlled exclusively by other racial and socioeconomic groups. This situation would pose somewhat less of a problem in a society which sought to make a virtue of poverty or which otherwise controlled the aspirations of its participants. But in a society which systematically inculcates discontent with one's social position and which emphasizes the doctrine of equality of opportunity, barriers to opportunity based on race, nationality, or socioeconomic status create a pervading sense of defeat and despair among the dispossessed.

I contend, in short, that we must give much greater attention to problems of social structure and social justice than has generally been the case in previous approaches to prevention. Dispossessed young people are entitled to have their views of the world given a fair appraisal by professionals. We should acknowledge to them that there *are* marked inequalities in access to opportunity in our society and that one's life chances are materially affected by the vicissitudes of birth. Unless we can convince them that we understand what it is to live in despair, without goals and without hope, large numbers of these young people will be disaffected from the outset.

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[3] A considerable amount of clinical opinion holds that many of the participants in delinquent subcultures, unlike most "lone" delinquents, are not distinguished by personality disorganization or pathology. Perhaps for this reason, the problem of delinquent subcultures has not generally attracted the attention of clinicians, although they have had much to do with individualistic delinquents. This may also account for what I believe to be a fact; namely, that there is no systematic psychological theory of the origins, evolution, and maintenance of delinquent subcultures.

Further, it seems to me that we must offer these young people an ideology of hope based on the assumption that people can do something about their social conditions. The major institutions with which the urban lower-class adolescent comes in contact—the school, the church, the settlement house—have been greatly at fault in failing to make available programs in which adolescents can come to grips with the issues that affect their lives and can develop skill in collectively acting upon these issues. The school and settlement house and church tend, for the most part, to insulate lower-class young people from any channels through which they might express legitimate grievances against the social order. The problem of dealing with delinquent subculture is not simply to reduce pressures toward deviance or to dissuade individual delinquents, by therapeutic and other means, to relinquish deviant ways of behaving. If they are to be asked to give up forms of adjustment that they find satisfying, they must be given functional alternatives. If they harbor a deep, inarticulate sense of resentment against existing institutional arrangements, they must be shown not that their alienation is without basis but that there are nondeviant, though perhaps controversial, ways of expressing such sentiments. This may mean that those of us working in schools, churches, settlement houses, and other institutional spheres of lower-class life will have to reorganize our programs in order to create realistic opportunities for collective efforts against racial discrimination, slum housing, and the like. The task is not to subtly persuade these young people that their grievances are imaginary or to help them adjust to unfortunate social realities but to provide legitimate ideologies and channels for the collective expression of alienation and discontent and to teach them how to use these channels. This may be one of the most crucial ways in which the social milieu can be altered to prevent delinquent subcultures. To put such an approach into practice, however, it will be necessary to make some basic changes in the organization of services and in our concept of power and its uses.

Limiting access to deviant adaptations

Attempts to regulate the outcome of pressures toward deviance by providing the young with functional alternatives, such as opportunities for collective social action, should be coupled with efforts to reorganize the social milieu to remove the social supports and resources for various forms of deviance. As I have observed, public concern today focuses largely upon conflict subcultural behavior as distinct from other types of delinquency. For this reason, I shall use this form of behavior to illustrate the proposition that access to deviant adaptations is controlled by the social milieu.

To understand the emergence of conflict subcultures as opposed to other types of delinquent subculture, let us compare the social conditions under which the fighting gang develops with those that give rise to criminally oriented subcultures. Criminal and conflict subcultures do not arise in the same types of urban neighborhood. Where the criminal adaptation prevails, one finds strong counter-pressures against conflict behavior, and where the conflict adaptation prevails, one finds that the social milieu is unfavorable to stable criminal forms of adaptation.

Slum communities, a number of observers have noted, are not necessarily disorganized simply because they are slums (13). Sometimes they exhibit forms of social organization which, although different in many respects from middle-class forms of organization, are extremely stable and give unity, direction, and cohesion to community life. Slum communities, like other communities, can therefore be placed on a continuum ranging from a high degree of organization to little or none (5). Such differences are of great significance, for different types of delinquent subculture tend to be associated with variations in slum organization.

It should be noted that the successful performance of deviant social roles, like that of conforming social roles, requires more than the volition of the actor. One cannot simply decide to make a career of crime and then do so, any more than one can merely *will* a successful career in law; in both instances, certain social supports must be present. For the development of a criminal, two types of social support are essential. One is integration between the carriers of conventional and criminal values: patterns of accommodation and cooperation among police, politicians, racketeers, professional criminals, businessmen, and other local residents. The second is integration among offenders of different age-levels: close relationships among criminal apprentices, semisophisticated young adult criminals, and mature members of the underworld (4).

These two features of social organization exert a crucial influence upon the evolution of delinquent subcultures. Unless the society seeks the services performed by the occupants of a social role, the role will not be likely to persist. Criminals, especially those engaged in organized crime, provide many services which are more or less in demand—gambling, sexual outlets, narcotics, strong-arm squads, and the like. If these services are to be provided in an orderly, continuous way, the activities of criminals must be protected from scrutiny by elements in the society who would like to suppress them. Thus coalitions of groups who have an interest in the preservation of these services grow up to defend them. In communities where these coalitions exist, we have the integration of carriers of criminal and of conventional values. Such integration is a functional prerequisite for the existence of stable, organized criminal enterprises. Communities which exhibit this form of integration can provide illegitimate career opportunities for young people who feel that legitimate channels to success-goals are restricted or closed to them. Because integration of the carriers of both the criminal and the conventional values produces a stable criminal opportunity structure, the young in such communities may orient themselves toward careers in crime as alternatives to the inaccessible legitimate careers which might otherwise have commanded their allegiance.

The opportunity to engage in a criminal career does not account for the actual emergence of such a career. Persons who orient themselves toward criminal careers must be inducted into criminal groups; they must be exposed to situations in which the prerequisite criminal values and skills can be acquired. This learning function is performed by the integration of different age-levels of offender. In slum communities which exhibit such integration, a young man finds older offenders after whom to pattern himself and from whom to learn the ways of crime. Each age-level is connected to a higher level so that young offenders are, through intervening age-grades, ultimately linked to the adult criminal system. Knowledge, values, skills, and attitudes are transmitted through this age hierarchy. For those who excel in learning, upward passage is assured, and a position in a stable adult criminal enterprise may be the eventual reward (12). These are communities, then, which provide both criminal learning and criminal opportunity; they are characterized by the criminal type of delinquent subculture, a subculture composed of adolescents gradually coming to occupy positions of apprenticeship in organized or professional crime.

Purposeless, undisciplined, aggressive behavior is not sanctioned in communities which exhibit these particular forms of integration. This is not to say that violence has no place in their scheme of life; there are occasions when violent behavior is appropriate, but street combat between gangs in search of status is generally discouraged. What intergang conflict occurs in these areas is generally defensive, as when local gangs defend their territory against "invasion" by foreign, marauding gangs. The young are made aware by their elders that street warfare not only has little point but tends to bring unfavorable public scrutiny to the neighborhood and thus endangers the various illegitimate community enterprises. Thus the social groups of the community, *illegitimate as well as legitimate,* constantly exert pressure to restrain aggressive behavior among the adolescents. In effect, illegitimate norms support and buttress the conventional prohibitions.

These norms against violence are known to dissident adolescents and are enforced by powerful community sanctions, controlled by various adults in the distribution of illegitimate rewards. In criminal opportunity systems, as in opportunity systems in general, there is a surplus of contenders for positions; not all who orient themselves toward a place in these structures can succeed. A process of selection takes place at every age level. Control of this selection process gives adults in the community enormous influence over the behavior of adolescents, for the adults are in a position either to make great rewards available or to withhold them. Thus the behavior of the young is encompassed within a system of social controls that originates in both legitimate and illegitimate sectors of the community. This point has been developed by Kobrin (5). This type of slum community, in short, is not a favorable environment for the emergence of the fighting gang.

The conflict subculture is principally a product of unstable communities. High rates of vertical and geographic mobility, massive housing projects, and changing patterns of land use (as in the case of residential areas that are encroached upon by adjacent commercial or industrial areas) are among the factors that keep a community off balance and check tentative efforts to develop social organization of any kind. Transiency and instability thus become the overriding features of social life.

Disorganized communities tend to produce a conflict form of delinquency for several reasons. They cannot provide alternative channels to success-goals, legitimate or criminal. Although there may be a good deal of criminal activity in these areas, it is sporadic, unorganized, and poorly protected. Because stable criminal opportunity structures do not exist, stable criminal careers cannot develop. To the extent that the adolescents also experience discrepancies between aspirations and legitimate avenues of social ascent, the absence of illegitimate channels heightens their frustration in these communities.

Furthermore, disorganized neighborhoods have virtually no means of controlling the expression of impulses to deviate. Not only the conventional institutions but also the illegitimate activities of the communities are disorganized. Hence social controls do not originate in either legitimate or illegitimate segments of community life. The combination of heightened frustration and simultaneously weakened social controls appears to give rise to the conflict form of subcultural behavior. Lacking institutionalized channels of social ascent, legitimate or illegitimate, and without effective patterns of social control, dissident adolescent groups seize upon violence as an avenue to status which *is* available and which *can* be utilized by them. Thus there grows up a network of gangs which compete for status on the basis of skills in street combat and other forms of violence.

This analysis has a number of implications for the prevention of conflict subcultures. Above all, the degree of community solidarity must be heightened in order to reduce conflict behavior. In this sense, the target in a program of prevention should be not the individual delinquent or even the conflict subculture but, rather, the community. If relationship patterns among adults can be strengthened, access to conflict behavior can be gradually restricted. The problem of prevention is therefore partly a problem of social control and partly a problem of reorganizing the social milieu so as to reduce the availability of a particular form of deviant behavior.

I am aware that it is not fashionable in professional circles today to speak of social control as a component of prevention. An emphasis on social control is generally regarded as punitive, primitive, and unresponsive to the needs of young people. I would agree if social control is the exclusive emphasis; the delinquency field has provided some dramatic illustrations of the futility of programs based solely on control. For example, it has been observed in a number of communities in New York City that when access to violence as a means of securing status is abruptly closed to delinquents, drug use increases sharply. Many areas in which organized, systematic harassment and suppression by the police and other agencies have forced conflict groups to relinquish violence have subsequently exhibited a disconcerting rise in drug use and other forms of passive, retreatist delinquency. The point is that by restricting access to one form of deviance *without providing functional but conforming alternatives,* we run the risk of simply converting one form of deviance into another. But where conforming alternatives are provided, where the social milieu is reordered so that the means and resources for conforming adaptations are made more accessible, various measures of social control will also be useful.

It should be noted that social control is probably more effective when it is an internal feature of a community than when it is externally imposed, and when access to the conflict subcultural adaptation is restricted by building indigenous institutional forms in a slum community, by increasing the observability of community prohibitions against violence and by enhancing the capacity of a community to impose sanctions. In the long run, young people will be far more responsive to an adult community which exhibits the capacity to organize itself, to manage its problems, and to mobilize indigenous resources than to a community which must have these functions performed by external agents.

The task of generating institutions in disorganized communities poses a variety of problems. Among other things, we need new concepts of the institutional forms most appropriate in an age of rapid social change. Some of the older forms—such as the nationality or ethnic organizations characteristic of the traditional but disappearing immigrant ghettos—may not be suitable in contemporary lower-class urban communities. Once we have decided upon appropriate models, we face a host of questions concerning the way in which to involve the residents of a community in the process of reconstruction. We need to know much more about concepts of leadership in the lower class and in different ethnic groups, about patterns of interpersonal relationships which are compatible to various groups, about the organization and use of power. We may, for example, have to become much more concerned about the role of indigenous groups in large urban communities with respect to the formulation of school policies and practices.[4] We cannot speak of reconstructing community organization without involving the school in this process. These, then, are some of the issues and problems that face us in the prevention of delinquent subcultures.

Discussion

In reply to a question about members of conflict gangs after age 20, Dr. Cloward said the gangs generally seem to break up, with some members adapting to lower-class community life and others adopting drugs or alcohol or seeking to make a living through crime, even though they usually do not have sufficient training or protection to be successful at crime. Sometimes whole gangs turn to drugs. There is some evidence that family resources or help in obtaining a job will determine the road a delinquent takes as he steps into the adult social role.

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[4] The control of school systems in many urban areas has become so bureaucratized and centralized that local residents no longer feel that they can have any important role to play in school affairs. This is especially true in low-income areas where school officials often have virtually no contact with adult residents.

The Italian communities in New York were mentioned as an example of somewhat stable communities in the last two decades offering both conventional and illegitimate opportunity. For a time organized crime was controlled by other national origins, but certain changes occur. There was a question concerning how fast a program would have to operate in a disorganized community before a shift would occur in the neighborhood. A program to enlist cooperation and organize the people to give them some access to political power, a chance to succeed at some community efforts, often enables those who become skilled in community organization to move away as a result of their new contacts and new occupational opportunities, and thus community leadership is lost as it is trained.

It was suggested that involving parents in an active and responsive parent organization might make it possible to maintain some stability by producing new leadership, as in the Manhattanville area in New York City around the junior high school where the Higher Horizons project was being conducted.

One of the participants pointed out the possibility that a city school system might become so large that it would fail to respond to local needs. The trend in some large cities is for the overall board of education to try to decentralize by having an associate superintendent and district administrators who can discuss problems with a parent or local neighborhood organization. In many places central policies can be adapted to the neighborhood, as in working class areas or mixed racial groups; however, even with the right kind of curriculum, the only hope for youngsters in certain areas is to move away.

It was agreed that many of the traits characteristic of the lower-class culture are reactions to the powerlessness which is a feature of life in this social order, where opportunities to engage in alternative adaptations are not available. Certain resources must be available for either deviant or conforming behavior; unless the skills and attitudes that make possible assimilation into various occupations such as law, social work, or education are supported, transmitted, and encouraged by the social system, the individual simply does not have the resources with which to act upon these values.

Since some of the difficulties of children in disorganized neighborhoods arise from a lack of opportunities, something should be done not only to create opportunities for them but also to give them a sense of being capable of dealing with their own problems, whether of housing, health, or education. The initial efforts have to come from outside, for these elements of the population are often the least capable and have in a sense "given up."

Outside help is a problem, for not much money is available from public sources—the creation of local interest groups might eventually attack the city itself—and private agencies are also affected by the power structure; furthermore those who sponsor a community organization will be likely to want to run it their way rather than leave the control to the local inhabitants of the area. Unless the community groups have some allies among the more powerful elements in the city, any efforts they make to influence the school system, the health department, landlords, or those who control building regulations, will be useless and will defeat the purpose of forming a community organization. However, it was felt that people in the communities might be able to find a way out of their difficulties through some sort of collective action if they realized their ability to organize as other groups throughout society do, to exert pressure for better enforcement of housing regulations or better school facilities. As more and more minority groups remain in the city, and as voting power shifts to them, city politicians, boards of education, and school superintendents become aware of the importance of helping to implement the policies of the social workers, if not in the interest of mental hygiene, simply in order to win elections.

It was recognized that the mobility around some of the big urban school areas is tremendous and is a handicap to any type of neighborhood project. It is important to have allies, and for that a mobilization of the resources of the community is needed—not just a school or a social agency, but a neighborhood focus in which the schools, the social agencies, and others participate. One of the participants mentioned the practice in Israel of bringing into the power structure members of the group ordinarily discriminated against, on the assumption that certain undesirable consequences would result if they did not participate. This strategy might be effective in many cases because people often rise to opportunities more successfully than might have been anticipated.

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V

Two Roles for Schools in Reducing Juvenile Delinquency

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THIS PAPER is concerned with the possibility and feasibility of two somewhat different roles for schools in reducing delinquency. In one, programs would be devised to detect in the primary grades boys and girls likely to become seriously delinquent, and the schools then would bring to bear sufficient measures to correct personality development to forestall delinquent careers. In the second, the school acting in its primary educational role would provide appropriate instruction at the junior high or high school level to protect many young people from the hazards of marginal antisocial conduct, much as driver training courses have saved many from death and injury.

First, a word must be said as to the distinction made here between "true" delinquency and "marginal" delinquency. Students of juvenile delinquency tend to concentrate upon those unfortunate, tough young people who become repeated offenders and have to be confined to treatment homes and special training schools. These young folks ultimately have appalling records of misdeeds—thefts, assaults, and vandalism. Failures in personality development have left them with inadequate controls and distorted values. The menace they pose to our society and to themselves is a challenge to social workers, and social scientists as well as to law enforcement officials. In spite of all the research and all the efforts of the fine men and women working in clinics, social agencies, and treatment homes, the very fact of the present conference is testimony to the fact that no sure program has been found for either treating or preventing this type of delinquency.

When the average citizen, especially one far from the underprivileged centers of urban concentration, speaks of delinquency he is apt to think of juvenile deeds which would seem mild to "true" delinquents but which would be serious to his own and his neighbor's children. He thinks perhaps of heavy drinking, experimentation with drugs, wild driving, and sexual exploitation. To be involved in such events can hurt or even wreck the lives of the young people and bring disgrace and heartache to their parents. If we had a social calculus we might well find that the total harm done by the "true" delinquents would be minor compared with the blight spread by "marginal" delinquency. To illustrate, reckless driving by teenagers has brought horrible death to many times as many people as those killed in "rumbles." The lives saved by driver training courses and the safety lectures in schools already far outnumber the lives we could save by totally eliminating all juvenile aggressive assaults for a decade.

One new opportunity to reduce the number of "true" delinquents arises from evidence that it is possible to detect potential delinquents at an early age. The best known device for doing this is the Social Prediction Scale authored by the Gluecks (4). The original 5-item scale and some recent 2-factor and 3-factor modifications are being tested in New York, where they have been applied to 223 boys on first entrance to two public schools. According to the New York City Youth Board (1), which is conducting the experiment:

> Of the 223 boys included in the study, 156 were rated non-delinquents; in 67 cases, the probability was that these boys might become delinquent. After seven years, 151 (96.8%) of the 156 are showing no delinquent tendencies, 4 have become delinquent, and 1 is showing serious pre-delinquent symptoms. Of the 67 given a high probability of becoming delinquent, 17 are already delinquent, 5 are showing pre-delinquent symptoms, 45 are nondelinquent thus far.

It should be emphasized that these boys are now about 12 or 13 years old; in general, 15 is the peak year for delinquency. In view of the fact that the research by the Gluecks was performed on a group socially quite different from the New York sample, the showing of the instrument is quite good. Among the 39 Puerto Rican boys in the New York sample, a 3-factor scale applicable to boys from broken homes correctly indicated the future behavior of 37 boys.

It is impressive that the Gluecks' scale can yield quantitative scores which in turn can be converted into the percentage of probability that a given boy will ultimately become delinquent. From the viewpoint of school people, there is even more heartening evidence that the unaided judgment of experienced teachers has a predictive validity which compares quite favorably with the more scientific Glueck scales. Years ago, in connection with the so-called Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, a number of second-grade teachers were asked to predict the futures of their pupils. Commenting upon the project, Powers (11) pointed out that the teachers had correctly selected 77 percent of the 15 boys who later became most seriously delinquent. In an unspecified number of cases, however, teachers had nominated boys who did not become delinquent; Powers' report indicated that many developed emotional disturbances.

The list of qualities which Powers declared were used as indices by the teachers is of special interest; they included: daredevil behavior, cruelty, negativism toward school, hyperactivity, loquaciousness, and impulsivity. This list is of special interest because it includes behavior strikingly resembling some items in two scales less well known that the Social Prediction Scale developed by the Gluecks (5). These two, designated as the Traits of Character Structure Scale and The Personality Traits Scale, were derived respectively from analysis of Rorschach protocols and psychiatric interviews. Included are such traits as social assertiveness, defiance, suspiciousness, destructiveness, adventurousness, and extroversion.

Research has thus shown that it is possible in the early grades to recognize potential delinquents. Unfortunately, we cannot cite any conclusive research proving that a single procedure can invariably prevent the development of delinquency in those who have been recognized as delinquency prone even at an early age. The inconclusiveness of research on this crucial matter is a reflection of the powerful forces which produce antisocial conduct in young people. It is easy to stir up quite an argument between sociologists and psychologists as to the exact nature of those forces. A combination of subcultural neighborhood traditions, linked to poverty and social disorganization, is usually associated with high delinquency rates. Among people living in such settings, highly disturbed home conditions precipitate the most serious personality disorganization. The combination produces social and personality dynamics which do not respond to any simple corrective methods.

There is also an important methodological reason for the scarcity of data on preventive programs aimed at predelinquents beginning when the youngsters are 5 years old. The end-products of any such program cannot be determined with certainty until the boys and girls are at least 15 years of age. A well-designed research effort must overcome the difficulties encountered in any longitudinal research compounded with those involved in experimentation requiring control groups. Thus, we must have a full-fledged experiment on a large enough scale so that at the conclusion, a full decade after inception, allowing for the volume of attrition sure to occur in the highly transient areas where delinquency is highest, we will still have matched control and experimental groups large enough for the determination of statistical significance.

One of the few programs overcoming these difficulties was the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study launched by Richard Clarke Cabot in the 1930's. In it two groups of 325 boys each were matched on prognosis of delinquency, as indicated earlier. One was given the benefit of counseling and social casework services; the other was used as a control group. The first followup on this study was reported by Powers and Witmer (12) in 1951. More recently, another evaluation of the data has been presented by the McCords (8). Both studies agree that the percentage of boys who became delinquent was substantially the same (approximately 40 percent) in both groups, although there was somewhat less severity in the delinquency at the extreme top of the experimental group.

In appraising the significance of these findings, which have been used to discourage programs based on early detection, it is essential to note that this one relied upon a rather diluted form of individual psychotherapy. For some time now readers of the literature have been uncomfortably aware that the few well-designed efforts to evaluate the effectiveness of child-guidance clinics' services to children have been inconclusive. The situation is accurately summarized in this report made to Congress: (13)

> Several studies have attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of clinical treatment of delinquents. The results of these studies are inconclusive; they have proved neither its effectiveness nor its ineffectiveness. A careful perusal of the literature of psychiatry, psychology, mental health, and other so-called helping professions leaves one with the impression that the apparent ineffectiveness of some attempts at clinical intervention in the delinquency process is due either to the absence of appropriate conditions for therapeutic contact, or the absence of needed health, educational, recreational, or vocational services once such contact is established.

There is little in the literature concerning final, definitive evaluations of school programs based on early detection. The recent compilation by Kvaraceus and his coworkers in the Juvenile Delinquency Project of the National Education Association (6) contains no reference to final results of this type; neither does the work published a year earlier by Bernice Milburn Moore (9). Some significant findings pertinent to the problem did appear, however, in the almost forgotten St. Paul Experiment in Child Welfare (14), which was interrupted by World War II. Beginning in 1937, five services were made available to one area in St. Paul: psychiatric, psychological, casework, group work, and tutoring; 60 percent of the children received more than one service. Of the 734 referred, 349 came from public schools and 16 from parochial schools. A school social worker processed the referrals. At the start of the project the average age of the children referred by schools was 14 years, 6 months, but a trend toward early, preventive referral brought this down to 8-2 by 1941-42. Evaluation of this experiment lacked nicety of design. In "judging" 406 cases, 18 percent were found to show major improvement; 65 percent, partial improvement; and 17 percent, no improvement. Lack of a control group on this criterion was unfortunate. However, a comparison of volume of arrests for the project area as compared with the entire city of St. Paul was fairly impressive. During the period 1937-41, the index for arrests of boys in the city as a whole rose from 100 to 128; in the project area it fell from 100 to 84.

The 1957 progress report of the New York City Board experiment (10) mentions the fact that an experimental group was referred for clinical help; the first progress report promises a comparison of this group with a matched group in due time. However, the accuracy reported for the Glueck Social Prediction scale would seem to indicate that whatever intervention was attempted had failed to halt the predicted development of antisocial behavior. In view of the small size of the total group for which delinquency had been predicted, it is unlikely that at the termination of the research there will be sufficiently large numbers to sustain standard statistical measures for determination of significance of differences. This experiment will perhaps join the other inconclusive studies where reliance is placed on individual therapy.

Another program has been in process in the Detroit school system. There, teachers in two elementary schools in high delinquency areas began to refer pupils they regarded as predelinquent to school "action teams." These action teams, consisting of teachers and principals, would then bring to bear a flexible program for aiding the children. Psychiatric consultation was made available to the teachers. The children were given health aid, were given intensive tutoring by future teachers from Wayne State University, were referred to visiting teacher (school social worker) service, and were placed in group-work programs under the aegis of the Neighborhood Service Organization. By September 1959, the project was active in 12 schools. The use of various approaches singly or in flexible combinations is in the tradition of the St. Paul experiment. To date, the only attempt at objective evaluation, using matched schools outside the project, was a progress report prepared by the present author and Robert Kraske (16) in 1958. At that time, of course, the children were all too young for any but a very few to have acquired either police or court records. On most indices, there were no significant differences between the project school and matched control schools. The one marked difference was in regard to vandalism. In a period of rising malicious destruction of school property, the experimental schools maintained a steady average of 7 incidents per year; the control schools suffered an increase from 7 instances to 17. Interesting though this might be, it is barely a straw in the wind. Additional evaluations are planned. However, it must be stressed that this project is operating at the present time without any grants for research; the plan is to channel all available efforts into giving expanded service.

Now let us turn to a possible theoretical position and outline what would be required to test the general worth of programs based on early recognition and intensive corrective efforts originating in schools and directed at preventing the development of delinquency. It has been clear for some time that the most seriously delinquent young people come out of homes where the parents fail to meet their needs and to adequately supervise their activities. If this situation prevails up to the time the child is old enough to come to the attention of police and courts, the chances of cutting off the delinquent career are slight, and the costs are great.

Furthermore, within the school the difficulties confronting the adolescent delinquent are a baffling complex of academic and social frustrations. In a study at Wayne State University performed under contract with the U.S. Office of Education, the present author found that among boys with low intelligence, poor academic records, and an initial police contact, repeaters differed from nonrepeaters in having poor social relationships with both teachers and peers (15).

At the point where the child enters school, the processes of personality formation still have quite a distance to go; his social relationships in school have not been established, and his control systems are still developing. There is a real possibility that if the school can substitute partially for what has been missing in his house, the personality development yet to take place may keep him in the ranks of the nondelinquent. The role of the school would be primarily one of early recognition and of actively organizing the necessary protective forces. Some needs, such as those for success, can be managed in the school setting. Teachers can help significantly in the development of good social relationships. The meeting of health needs, food needs, and supervision of leisure activities might take place through a concentration of special services by social-work agencies, including social casework to help parents meet the children's needs. For periods when school was not in session, camp programs would have to be offered. The main point is that from the point of recognition in the kindergarten or first grade for as long as might be required, arrangements would have to be made to provide the children with protection, need-gratification, and supervision. Teachers who wished to do so could sponsor limited numbers of the children within the school setting.

Such a program is worth testing. However, it is important to recognize the realities of school budgets. Accordingly, the arrangements must depend for the bulk of the increased services on the appropriate public and private nonschool agencies.

What would an experiment along these lines look like? First, we would have to contemplate a 15-year life for the program: 1 year to get organized, 13 years to have sufficient numbers go through the program to merit definite evaluation, and 1 year to process the data. Second, the experiment would call for the gathering of data on adequately large control groups. Third, although the project would center in schools, the bulk of available funds would be used to augment services provided by other agencies.

One possibility would be to select for the experiment 10 schools, to have five pairs matched on socioeconomic indices usually linked to delinquency. In each of the project schools, an extra teacher would be made available to permit regular teachers to engage in those activities which necessitate leaving their classrooms, and a committee of teachers and administrators would be established to act as a "captain group" or "action team" to make arrangements for the children to be helped. A special school social worker would be made available to work with the families of the project children. Also, arrangements would be made for the services of a psychiatrist to work with the teachers on problems concerning the behavior of these children. Clearly, such a project would need a full-time director, a research staff, and consultants on delinquency. Provision would have to be made for the employment of a community-organization worker, for meeting the cost of health services for the necessary group workers, and for vacation-time camping arrangements. These funds would be channeled by the project director to the appropriate public and private agencies.

The project would operate as follows. Kindergarten and first-grade teachers in all schools (both project schools and control schools) would nominate those children they felt to be predelinquent. The accuracy of their nominations would be checked by application of the 5-factor or a 2-factor modification of the Glueck Social Prediction Scale. The scores on the Glueck Scale would be utilized as the basis for matching control-group and project-group children. Upon nomination, data would be gathered on each project child by the visiting teacher. On the basis of data available, the "captain group" or "action team" in each school would get to work and make the necessary arrangements to meet the child's health needs, to modify his school program, to bring remedial instruction to bear at the first sign it might be necessary, and to place him in an appropriate out-of-school group. At vacation time, the action team would make camping arrangements if necessary. Teachers who had project children in their classes would consult with the psychiatrists or other consultants, and the exact details for working with the children would be modified from time to time.

Many of the children identified in the project schools would be from mobile families and would transfer to other schools. Although direct school-related services could not continue, services provided by nonschool agencies might be continued to the extent permitted by the geographic range of those other agencies. At any event, at the time of the followup for evaluation, there would be no subgroups served over varying periods of time. Should the evaluation prove favorable to the general concept, this would provide some data as to the optimum period of special attention.

At the time of final evaluation, all children in both the control and experimental groups would be located, wherever they might happen to be. On the basis of the police and court records in each jurisdiction in which they had resided, the number who had become officially delinquent and the intensity of the delinquency would be determined. To the extent that the groups had been matched on Glueck Social Prediction Scale scores, it would also be possible to determine the extent to which the final history of each youngster in each group had departed from predicted expectation. Such data, as of the sixteenth birthday of each pupil, would permit conclusive estimates as to the influence of the program.

Even though a large-scale experiment requiring a longitudinal timespan would be expensive compared to the cost of most studies in education and social welfare, it would still be less expensive than many conducted in such areas as high-energy physics or space exploration. The benefits could be of equal value, to say the least.

PREVENTING MARGINAL DELINQUENCY

By "marginal delinquency" we mean activities which are definitely illegal as specified by statutory juvenile codes but which may be classed as "pranks" or "high spirits," because the offenders are generally regarded as "good kids" who are misguided, and because a number of adults in the community engage in simular conduct without losing the reputation of being honest. These acts are often considered to be nothing more serious than adolescent rebellion; the offenders are not tough practitioners of burglary, robbery, or mayhem.

As every police officer in a suburb or a nice middle-class area can testify, these acts range from initiation stunts through heavy drinking to sex games and wild driving in "borrowed" cars. Even though the young man's ego and supergo might be so intact that one offense would be his limit, especially if he happened to be caught, responsible adults would have to say that what he was doing did constitute delinquency. In any case, certain of these activities carry a life-wrecking potential which cannot be ignored. The unmarried high school girl who becomes pregnant may find refuge in a hasty marriage; however, the all-too-probable subsequent marital conflict could well blight not only the lives of herself and her young husband but set the stage for emotional disturbance or "true" delinquency in the children born to that marriage. The people maimed or killed by a drunken or reckless teenage driver are just as badly hurt as though slugged by a vicious hoodlum with a set of tire chains or, in an explosion of rage, shot with a zip-gun. From the viewpoint of a surety company, an arrest for car theft is as ominous as one for armed robbery and can ruin the future career of a young man.

Recognizing this situation, educators and law-enforcement officials in many communities attempt all sorts of educational programs. Police officers appear before class groups and school assemblies. By legal enactment, information designed to discourage the use of alcohol and narcotics is in many textbooks. The problem is two-fold: (*a*) To gather clear-cut evidence as to the worth of educational programs, and (*b*) if this is found favorable, to use the tools now at our command to find those procedures and materials which are of maximum effectiveness. In this respect we can learn from such workers as McCarthy (7), despite the paucity of scientifically controlled evaluation. There is a strong prima facie case that either didactic or discussion programs can markedly reduce the incidence of marginal delinquency. Anyone who has a son or daughter old enough to drive a car knows that insurance companies estimate on the basis of solid statistical evidence that if a young person has had a driver-training course in high school he runs much less risk of being involved in accidents. In the allied area of emotional problems, the Group for Advancement of Psychiatry (2) has found considerable value in such programs as those initiated by Ralph Ojemann in Iowa and Colonel H. Edmund Bullis in Delaware.

Even though convinced of the risk or danger of particular forms of misconduct, some socially vulnerable young people find themselves in situations where others can successfully challenge them to prove their daring, courage, or independence by flouting the law or the mores or both. It is necessary, then, to arm these youngsters with techniques for disengaging themselves from potential exploiters; some interesting materials (3) are available for this, although there is need for careful testing of the effects.

A full-scale, scientifically rigorous experiment along these lines would certainly be worth developing. Using the classical method of equated control and experimental groups, the first stage would call for the selection of pairs of schools representing the wide range of American communities: upper-class suburbs, rural areas, middle-class neighborhoods, and industrial towns. For a complete evaluation, it might be possible to include some balance to account for possible regional differences. In the first phase, the question to be investigated would be: "To what extent, if any, can use of primarily educational procedures in junior high school and high school affect the total amount of delinquency?"

During this first phase, the administrators and teachers in the experimental schools would be given opportunity to familiarize themselves with materials already available and to work out procedures in harmony with their educational philosophies and the characteristics of their communities. It would be expected that during the planning stage they would have time to contact and enlist the cooperation of government officials, local civic organizations, and their own student groups. Each school group could be encouraged to devise as effective a program as possible within the context of present curriculum and time allotments.

Once devised, the programs should all be given at least a 4-year trial. At the conclusion of this trial period the experimental and control communities would be compared on the rather wide variety of official statistical indices affected by delinquent behavior of all types.[1] A factor in the selection of experimental and control communities would have to be the availability and accuracy of the data from which such indices could reliably be constructed. If the results of the experiments were at all positive, it would then appear wise to launch a massive program to develop and compare the materials of instruction necessary for a nationwide use of the possibilities demonstrated. However, let us first make sure that what now appears a hopeful approach is put to a preliminary test.

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[1] The present author, in a study now in progress, is finding that certain police data yield indices sensitive to the effects of parent-counseling programs.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, the present author would like to appraise where we stand in respect to the problems of delinquency and what we ought to do in our schools. In a bafflingly complex field the problem of determining causes and etiology is fairly well in hand. The crucial problem of devising techniques to remedy or prevent delinquency has attracted people of skill, imagination, and diligence. Neighborhood reform movements, recreation programs, public housing projects, and child guidance clinics have all been tried. All have shown a potential to take care of a portion of the total delinquent population; none has licked the problem. There is, then, no need for school people to hold back for fear they have little to offer; our knowledge and our skills may prove quite useful. As the first (and sometimes the only) disinterested, objective people to enter many a child's life, we have a duty to do what we can.

If once each year every teacher in the United States did something to prevent one delinquency-prone child from becoming delinquent, there would be no delinquency problem. That, so to speak, could be our quota. It is time to find out what we can do to meet it. In this we are on the side of the angels.

DISCUSSION

Dr. Wattenberg explained in reply to a question that he proposed a fairly long process to attempt to find out whether intervention at the 5- and 6-year-old level could alter the course of personality development and enable a child to use the social mobility possibilities of the school system to achieve status through this social route. He would try a massive system of approaches and then decide whether certain experiments should be added or dropped.

The Glueck's scale was considered by some to be a good predictor of delinquency proneness; others, however, warned against labeling children "delinquent" in view of the possibility that people may become what they are called.

The importance of teachers' day-to-day contacts with youngsters was stressed—their ability to judge a student's ability to tolerate failure, frustration, tension, and other psychic phenomena which seem to go along with potential delinquent behavior. By observing specific behavior traits—whether a particular youngster blows up when confronting ordinary classroom tasks, whether he seems to have a great many accidents due to taking foolhardy chances, or whether he is a daredevil or cruel to other children—teachers in at least one study at the second-grade level were said to do almost as well as the Glueck scale without the niceties of psychological testing, without a diagnosis, and without having to label children delinquents in order to have some interview contact with them.

The age at which children begin to show signs of predelinquent behavior was said to be about 8 to 9, although some of the indications might be found in kindergarten or first grade. Dr. Liddle remarked that by the time they reached age 9 or 10, delinquents would have been truants also, since this was one of the differences between aggressive children who subsequently become delinquent and those who do not. He also referred to Reckless's work with the self-concept instrument as a predictor of what would happen 3 or 4 years later and the fact that there was a high degree of isolation between delinquent and nondelinquent boys, even sitting side-by-side in a classroom or living in the same apartment house, 3 or 4 years before any of them became delinquent.

Dr. Hall suggested a project to identify the conditions in which delinquency grows instead of concentrating on an inherent personality structure—whether the cause of delinquency might be neurological, physiological, emotional, or whatever. To grow a good corn crop, one identifies the characteristics of the environment in which good corn grows, rather than identifying the individual stalks of corn which are likely to topple over. In education there is a tendency to spotlight the individual and perhaps increase his problems by identifying him as the cause of his problem; the other approach might be more effective. The unit of investigation could be the characteristics of parents, or of families, or of neighborhoods—not only of slum areas but also of some of the middle-class areas where theft and sex crimes and so forth begin to emerge—but would not involve the characteristics of the individual so much as the conditions from which he emerges.

Dr. Havighurst suggested a plan for a target group at the kindergarten and first-grade level in which (*a*) Most of the effort would go into delinquent areas and schools in those areas; (*b*) The teachers would nominate the severely maladjusted youngsters who need help but would not label them predelinquent or delinquency-vulnerable. Teacher reports might be confirmed by home visits, or the Glueck scale. It might be possible to avert later trouble by finding perhaps a third of the most vulnerable youngsters in a community.

In reply to a question as to whether the individual's own organic structure might account for delinquency, Dr. Wattenberg mentioned that certain types of brain-damaged youngsters blow up easily and have stresses caused by parental interaction as part of a vicious cycle. The Children's Center of Metropolitan Detroit, in an experiment with youngsters like this from middle-class homes, used a program of sedation of the child during the early years to see whether it would alter the parent-child interaction cycle and ultimately lead to better adjustment. Out of 100 16-year-old delinquents, however, only about 1 or 2 would have brain damage. Records seem to indicate that there is more likelihood of brain damage at the lowest socioeconomic level because of poor prenatal care and poor nutrition.

Another suggestion concerned the possibility of enlisting young people at a rather early age in youth organizations to give them the feeling of belonging to some national effort, since many adolescents seem to be aimlessly drifting around. If they are unable to find jobs, they do not seem to fit in anywhere and have the feeling that nobody wants them.

Dr. Cloward agreed that there should be more attention given to the problems of adolescents and to creative planning on a large scale for young people from 15 to 18 or 19 years of age. In many neighborhoods the youngsters need instrumentalities by which they can affect their own destinies in some significant way, but they have not been interested in the Boy Scout or Camp Fire Girls or other programs that have not dealt with issues closely related to their lives. Although young people are not accustomed to the committee process or many of the skills older people take for granted, when opportunities and training are presented, they do respond and enjoy meaningful community programs where they can do something as a group to remedy a situation inherent in the structure of their community. Such programs can be useful when they are staffed by people who mean to do something about real issues.

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